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THE RELATIVE MORAL AND SOCIAL STATUS OF THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH.

We would do injustice to our own convictions of the importance of, and the signal ability evinced in the following article, did we not earnestly invoke the attention of the readers of this Review, and through them the entire Southern community, to the masterly exposition of the subject fully indicated by the title of the paper. No greater service, in our opinion, could be rendered to the South, than by the republication of this, and the kindred article in the February number of this Review, in all the leading Southern Journals. The truths so distinctly presented, and so strongly enforced, deserve to be brought home to every Southern fireside.

WASHINGTON, *January 29, 1857.*

SIR: In my former epistle I endeavored to present to your consideration the political status of the non-slaveholding States relatively to the slaveholding States of the Union, and I intimated the purpose of treating the policy remedial of the times. Before approaching the question of policy, however, I have conceived it essential to examine somewhat the social relations of the two sections, so that the policy to be deduced may be drawn from a broader view of the subject.

The casual observer who visits the Republic, in passing through the non-slaveholding States, is struck with admiration at the immense display of their corporate and public, or general wealth; at the salubrity of their climate, for the most part free from malignant epidemics; their dense and energetic population; their vast eleemosynary establishments of charity and of learning; their numerous industrial companies of merchants, mechanics, and manufacturers; their extensive shipping and banking houses; their all-pervading church societies and school institutions; their unparalleled railroad, canal, steamboat, and telegraph associated interests; and at their neat villas, orderly

villages, comfortable towns, and magnificent cities, resonant with gorgeous amusements; and he attaches in his mind all this general appearance of wealth and comfort to their individual inhabitants. His visit is usually evanescent, and he rarely penetrates the inner heart of Northern social life. He proceeds to the slaveholding States, and there he finds the general aspect of things entirely different. He sees there comparatively few large towns, and still fewer large cities; few eleemosynary establishments of charity and of learning; few extensive mercantile, manufacturing, or mechanical companies; less wealthy shipping and banking houses; a less combined system of railroads, canals, steamboats, and telegraphs; less pervading school institutions; less dominant church societies; no gorgeous attractions; and a sparse population, plain, simple, and unpretentious in dress and manner, seemingly unenergetic, and resident in a climate subject, at times, to terrible visitations of epidemical disease. Rapid in his movements, and judging only from appearances, he here, too, attaches to individuals the general public aspect, and attributes to them relative and proportional discomfort and poverty. He is ready to exclaim—Oh! happy and prosperous North! Oh! wretched and indigent South! Confident in the conclusions of his personal observations, he is amazed when he comes to learn from the statistics of the Government, that the real facts are vastly different from those of his sensate assumptions, and that not only more comfort and wealth attach to the individual inhabitants of the Southern States, including their negro slaves, than to those of the Northern States, excluding their free negroes, but also, that the health of the inhabitants of the Southern States is better than that of those of the Northern States, fewer of the former dying annually, to every hundred of the population, than of the latter, in a broad view of the case, and in a more particular view, fewer of the first falling victims to bilious and yellow fevers, than of the last, who are cut off, untimely, by pleurisies and consumptions. If he now become an earnest inquirer after truth, he will determine to unravel the thread of this singular paradox. He will prolong his stay at the North and at the South. He will throw into the flames, as not worth the time their perusal would consume, the thousand-leaved volumes of fulsome Northern eulogy, of inadequate Southern exposition, and of foreign detraction, misrepresentation, and misconception of both sections alike, which publishers, in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, in Richmond, Charleston, and New Orleans, and in London, Edinburg, and Paris, have poured out upon the table of his studio, and set himself to his task with a mind unprejudiced by aught that has preceded him, and with a courage superiour to the praise

or censure of the present hour. He will penetrate the innermost recesses of Northern and Southern social life—trace out the actions of their social system upon their political system, and the reactions of their political system upon their social system, operating upon the whole economy of either, like the heart and brain operate in the animal economy, analyze results, synthesize facts, and admit no exhaustion of effort until native reason has eliminated from the dross of appearances the essential substance of their matter. Finally, when he shall have terminated his investigation, he will reach the solution of the paradoxical enigma presented, in the conclusion of reason sustained by innumerable facts, running through the current of years, that from the beginning, the modes and usages of the North,—in consequence of the absence of a disfranchised menial class composed of an inferior race, and the existence of entire legal equality, and, we may say, of entire political equality, among their inhabitants, women and children, native born citizens and naturalized citizens, free negroes and Indians, ranking together in respect to legal rights, and in respect to political rights, in some States, women, in others, free negroes and Indians, and in all, naturalized citizens, as well as native born citizens, being allowed the elective franchise,—have constantly tended to the establishment of a centralizing democracy, in which the individual, whether citizen or otherwise, has become necessarily more and more subordinated to the community as well as to the Government. Whereas at the South, from the fact of the existence of a disfranchised menial class, composed of an inferior race, to whom also many legal disabilities extend, to say nothing of other legal and political restrictions that operate to a limited extent upon other portions of their inhabitants, and especially with regard to women, the modes and usages of the Southern States have constantly tended to conservatism in government, and to the preservation of the citizen's independence of the community. In the one, it may be said that all are citizens doubly subordinate, but in the other that only citizens are subordinate to Government, and only slaves subordinate to the community. He discovers that the first partakes more of the nature of an aggregation, in which the individual constituents composing it are drawn together by cohesive attraction, and lose their personal identity, whereas in the last, the constituent elements of the aggregated whole are drawn together by the attraction of affinity, and preserve their personal identity. He sees that the former may engender great public or general advancement, wealth, and prosperity, and that there may exist in the midst of it all, indescribable individual suffering; whereas in the latter, there can scarcely exist to any extent individual suffering, while

there may be a great want of public or general wealth, energy, and progress.

Without burdening the pen with any learned polemical disquisition on the points involved, and leaving the question, as to "what government is best?" or that as to "which is the best regulated society?" to Solon, and his lineal descendant Plato, and their "ancient Atlantis," or to Lord Bacon and his "new Atlantis," or to Sir Thomas Moore and his "Utopia," or to Harrington and his "Oceana," or to any other ancient or modern dreamer, and the labors of his fancy; and moreover, not venturing the unenviable task of deciding whether the institutions of the North, or those of the South be preferable, I shall endeavor to view the subject before us in its practical bearings and in the light of existing fact. It is evident, that in an aggregational system like that of the North, the great majority of its individual members can only prosper and be content so long as the demand for labor is greater, or at least, equal to the supply, so that none need be bereft of the means of obtaining a comfortable subsistence, or at least the necessities of life, through a want of work; and, that even where this is the case, physical accidents, and bodily disease must cause at all times much deprivation and absolute want; the body of the community being composed of day-laborers, destitute of property, whose supplies are daily and necessarily dependent on daily occupation. Cut off their day by day manual employments by any cause, temporary or permanent, and in the one case, starvation threatens anarchy, and in the other case revolution is inevitable. I have already essayed to show in my first epistle, that the necessities of the North demand *now* the territorial possessions of the Government, and *hereafter*, will demand the abolition of negro slavery in order to grasp Southern territory. In other words, I have treated the danger to the South *in the Union*, through the political power of the North, guided and impelled by Northern necessities. I wish in this epistle, to consider the danger to the South *in the Union*, arising through the force of Northern social example.

The commonest mind cannot fail to apprehend, that the Northern system, as a social and political entirety, as well as in its separate social and political entities, is much more aggregational, or socialistic, and communistic, or if you please, purely democratic, than that of the South; and that consequently, under the influence first of the social mass through universal suffrage upon political action, and secondly, under the reaction of politics through legislation upon society, while their politics are being shaped more and more in accordance with the simple majority principle, in disregard of the just

balances and subordinations of Government, and those wise "checks" imposed by the Constitution of the United States on the mere majority rule, thus endangering all political stability in State and Federal affairs, their society at the same time, has been undergoing changes of fearful import to their own future moral integrity, and to that of the society of the Southern States, through the power of the predominating social example of the former over the latter *in the Union*.

The action of society, through suffrage, upon politics, is usually to gain some immediate purpose, or some present interest, and ordinarily terminates with the end achieved. The re-action of politics, through legislation upon society, is often consequential and permanent in its effects. Under the social and political actions and re-actions of the non-slaveholding States, we have seen already an immense landless, day-laboring, no-property mass, through universal suffrage, controlling all State legislation, and to a great extent, Federal legislation, so as to divide, subdivide, diffuse, and scatter property. The socialistic agrarianism of the North, in warring upon capital, through political action, has caused political action through legislation, to perpetrate the most lasting enormities against the integrity of Northern society. It has caused that highly intelligent and refined but irrational people—for intelligence and irrationality, so far from being inconsistent, constitute the common psychological heritage of the Caucasian family of man—to desecrate their domestic altars, and to pour upon their sacred fires vessels of wrath instead of incense, whose poisonous exhalations the offended Deity has returned, is returning, and will return, with just severity to their own nostrils. With the double idea of dividing property and equalizing personal rights, without distinction as to sex, it has influenced the enactment of a series of statutes, whose reactionary effects upon society can only result in unhallowed profligacy and licensed crime, which shall stifle civil liberty among themselves, and *if the Union holds*, by being imitated at the South, shall dethrone Southern virtue, strike the knell of the Republic, and finally reduce the entire continent to a condition like to that the Roman world endured, when, through similar causes, the peoples groaned aloud in the mad anguish of their sins, and evoked a God of mercy! When the intervention of Heaven was rendered necessary to the salvation of earth! When out of the throes and agonies of the times a Saviour at length was born, and whose sacrificial blood alone was potent to redeem mankind from the great burden of their iniquity.

In each one of that long series of State laws, demanded from time to time by the radical Democracy of the North, enforcing the extension to women of various observances in regard to

which they had been restricted by the common law, as well as by the Old Bible and the New Testament, may be traced the germ of much evil that the wisdom of the Jewish and Christian codes, and the customs of our ancestors, drawn as they were from the true nature of the Caucasian man and the experience of ages, intended to prevent the recurrence of to society. It is not without sad forebodings that I contemplate the ultimate effects on the moral integrity of Northern communities—and which must inevitably reach the South *in the Union*—of those laws, which, seeking to equalize the rights of the sexes, have established on the one hand, in "*femes covert*," the exclusive control of estates dissociated from their husbands, and on the other hand, as a necessary sequence and natural complement, have enlarged the grounds of divorce. By the first line of statutes, viz: that enlarging the estates of married women and conferring upon them power over wills, not only have they become invested with the right during coverture to the exclusive enjoyment of any and all property that may come to them, whether real or personal, and from whatever source derived, together with the right to the sole management of the same, either in person *or through the intervention of some preferred third party*, without regard to their husbands, but they have also become invested with the right to control the future disposition of the same by will, independently of their husbands. By the last line of statutes, viz: that multiplying the causes of divorce, the marriage ceremony has been despoiled of its moral charm, the marriage tie robbed of its binding force on conscience, and marriage and cohabitation have already come to be words almost synonymous, soon to be followed by the actual fact.

In order that we may form a realizing sense of the perniciousness of this double series of correlative enactments, let us briefly trace the corroding effects of similar enactments upon Roman virtue, and show how private and public integrity fell before them, until civil liberty perished in civil war, and an anarchical republic sought safety in imperial despotism.

However much writers may disagree on the unsettled questions, as to whether the early Roman laws placed married women entirely "*sub potestate viri*," whilst depriving them of separate estates, and as to whether they permitted divorce, the fact is that no instance of conjugal infidelity is known to the first five hundred years of Rome's national existence, and no instance of divorce is recorded. During this period Roman history is emblazoned equally with the virtues of the Roman statesman and those of the Roman matron. The names of Lucretia and Virginia and Cordelia stand proudly side by side with those of Brutus, Cincinnatus, and Decius. The domestic

hearth, the fountain head of all purity and integrity of character in private and in public life, was kept pure and unpolluted. Even as late as the year, "*ab urbe condita*," five hundred and thirty, when the Consal Ruga claimed and exercised the right to divorce his wife for sterility, all Rome cried aloud against the outrage committed upon their sacred customs, the moral sense of the community was shocked, and Ruga sank under popular odium.

But in the course of time Rome extended her conquests among the Oriental nations, with whom prevailed a different social system, and her returning generals and armies, enriched by spoils, brought back with them to Rome habits and ideas at war with the stringency of Roman custom, if not of Roman law. In some of the nations of the East married women were permitted the full enjoyment of separate estates, and men were at liberty to divorce their wives upon many pretences. In others divorces were mutual, and women enjoyed very much the same personal and property rights as men. And in others still, men were allowed more wives than one, to take and set aside wives at pleasure, and even to intermarry with their own sisters and daughters, as in Persia. The force of alliance, of governance, or of example and inter-communication between these nations and Rome, led finally to an invasion of Roman custom in these respects, to the desecration of the Lares and Penates, the pollution of the domestic fountain, and the subversion of Roman virtue.

Until the sixth century of the city, Roman marriage was a religious contract. The rite was sacramental, and celebrated in the Temple with great solemnity, and it established between the parties an entire community of interest in human and divine things. It wrought similarity of worship, as the wife abandoned the gods of her family and adopted those of her husband. She said to her husband, as Ruth said unto Naomi the mother of her husband, "thy gods shall be my gods, and thy people my people." Above all, it settled the unity of the family. But in the course of this century, under the example of the Orient, the marriage of *usucaption* was introduced, under which it came to pass, that a marriage was established by the fact of cohabitation for twelve months. From this, the third step to concubinage was short, and soon taken, to the destruction of family unity and the desecration of religion. *Pari passu* with these emendations of the marriage code, ran that current of law constituting separate estates in women occupying the conjugal relation, and their enjoyment of independent revenues; and side by side with both, divorcement was extended, until we read that Cæsar put away his wife upon *suspicion*.

In the end, by this succession of change in the law concerning the conjugal relation, absolute equality in point of personal and property rights, apart from governmental affairs, was established between the sexes, and as an inevitable consequence, the marriage tie became more and more weakened, and conjugal infidelity more and more common, until "Roman marriage," esteemed once so inviolable that dictatorial power dared not infringe its binding force, was degraded into a mere polite expression indicating cohabitation; and men came to interchange their wives, and wives their husbands, as fancy, policy, or caprice dictated. With the destruction of the sacred character of marriage, the family unity was destroyed, and Roman manners and morals changed. The domestic gods were abandoned; the domestic altars were overthrown; the domestic fountain was polluted; and the sacred hearth converted into a seat of profligacy and debauchery. From this date we read no more of the Roman matron, and as little of the Roman patriot; but dress, equipage, and lasciviousness, occupy the minds of women, and luxurious feasts, gladiatorial spectacles, and ambitious projects engage the attention of men. The matron becomes degenerated into the wanton, and the patriot into the demagogue. By this time, that nice sense of personal propriety and domestic decorum, previously enjoyed not only by the educated and refined patrician classes, but also by the entire mass of citizens, which took umbrage at the conduct of Ruga, and covered his head with public obloquy, though towering high in authority, demeaned itself so low as only to smile at Valeria, daughter of the noble house of Messala, and sister of Hortensius, when she, like a bawd, as we are informed by Plutarch, courted the favor of Sulla in the theatre. With the loss of private chastity, private virtue necessarily followed, and with the loss of private virtue, private integrity, and with that, public integrity necessarily followed. So low indeed, had private and public morals fallen now, that as to the first, we are told by Martial, Apuleius, Juvenal, and contemporaneous writers, women occupying the conjugal relation, without the conjugal condition, almost universally in the higher circles of life, *refused to undergo the labors of child-bearing*, but palmed off upon their husbands, the children of slaves as their own; and as to the last, as may be seen in any history of the times, every public officer considered it no dereliction of duty and trust to receive bribes, and peculate upon the treasury of the State. Lust and crime, hand in hand, stalked abroad throughout the land. No wonder that civil commotions quickly arose, to be speedily succeeded by general civil war. The servile war of Spartacus; the sanguinary conflict between Marius and Sulla, and their alternate

dictatorships doubly decimating the people; the conspiracy of Cataline with its symposium of blood; the terrible struggle between Pompey and Cæsar for kingly power; the culminating triumph of Cæsar, and his earnest effort, with a wise head and strong arm, to secure the public safety under the ægis of despotism; the assassination of Cæsar, and the death of Cassius and Brutus and the rest of those, who slew him in the Senate chamber; the triumvirate of Augustus, Lepidus, and Anthony; the fall of Lepidus through depraved weaknesses, and that of Anthony through bestial excess and the love of Cleopatra; and the assumption of the purple by Augustus, one by one swept across the encrimsoned political firmament of Rome, as legitimate consequences of the violence wrought to the moral government of society, through the womens' rights doctrines of those ages, until finally, Rome, embracing the world, the world became a vast lazaretto of lewdness, wickedness, folly, and madness, and in its agony of guilt and shame demanded supernatural intervention for its redemption; a warning and a prophecy forever.*

While Augustus was consolidating the Empire politically upon the ruins of the Republic, the advent of Jesus of Nazareth was proclaimed, and his work of social reformation commenced. He appeared on the stage of human existence, and, as if by magic, schools of the "new philosophy" came to be established in all directions, and the redeeming truths of Christianity were poured forth from the lips of the Apostles. These reformers clearly perceived that the universal moral degradation into which the world had fallen sprang chiefly from the polluted fountain of domestic life, as it ran from the family head down through the remote extremities of society, tainting the whole body of the community, and they set themselves to the task of purifying the source of the stream as the first in-

* Gibbon in his history of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, thus testifies to the laxity of the times caused by marriages followed by repudiations, and repudiations followed by marriages, viz: "When the Roman matrons became the equal and voluntary companions of their lords a new jurisprudence was introduced, that marriage like other partnerships might be dissolved by the abdication of one of the associates. In three centuries of prosperity and corruption, (after 500 A. U. C.) this principle was enlarged to frequent practice, and pernicious abuse. Passion, interest, and caprice suggested daily motives for the dissolution of the marriage. A word, a sign, a message, a letter, the mandate of a freedman, declared the separation. The most tender of human connections was degraded to a transient society of profit or pleasure. According to the various conditions of life, both sexes ultimately felt the disgrace and infamy. An inconstant spouse transferred her wealth to a new family, abandoning a numerous, and perhaps *spurious* progeny, to the paternal authority and care of her late husband; and a once beautiful virgin might be dismissed to the world, old, indigent, and friendless. A specious theory is confuted by this free and perfect experiment, which demonstrates, that the liberty of divorce does not contribute to happiness and virtue."

dispensable necessity towards the regeneration of mankind. The sermon on the Mount, worthy of a God, in repetition of the laws of Moses in relation to private, personal, and domestic duties, and especially in continuance of the seventh commandment and the 18th, 19th, and 20th chapters of Leviticus, wherein adultery and all kindred vices connected with the conjugal state and domestic life were particularly anathematized, after announcing the standard principles of moral and religious virtue, and of social integrity, struck down the independency of women, together with the prevailing law of divorce, in these memorable words, viz: "It hath been said whosoever shall put away his wife, let him give her a writing of divorcement. But I say unto you, that whosoever shall put away his wife, save for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit *adultery*; and whosoever shall marry her that is put away causeth her to commit *adultery*." In Leviticus, Moses had hurled the seventh commandment against the adulterous practices of his age in the peoples then occupying the promised land, and in the chapters referred to, after counselling his followers in earnest terms on the subject, used these words as an everlasting admonition to them, viz: "Defile not ye yourselves in any of these things, *for in all these the nations are defiled that I cast out before thee. Their land is defiled, therefore do I visit the iniquity thereof upon it. THE LAND ITSELF VOMITETH OUT HER INHABITANTS.* Ye shall therefore keep my statutes and my judgments, and shall not commit any of these abominations, *that the land spew not you out also when you defile it, as it spewed out the nations that were before you.*" The defilements that had caused the land in the days of Moses to loath and void its inhabitants, and against which he so terribly inveighed, Christ and his Apostles now discovered, rendered the universe weary of humanity reeking in depravity. It is no exaggeration to say, that there would have been and could have been no termination to anarchy and civil strife in the Roman world until the peoples were annihilated, but for the saving grace they accorded. The sermon of Christ on the Mount was followed by his reply to the Pharisees, who seeking to render him odious to the general popular sentiment prevailing on the subject of their questioning, put to him the query, "is it lawful for a man to put away his wife for every cause?" He answered, however, directly and positively in abnegation of this sentiment, regardless of personal consequences, thus: "Have ye not read (in Moses) that he which made them at the beginning made them male and female, and said for this cause shall a man leave father and mother and shall cleave to his wife, and they twain shall be one flesh. What, therefore, God has joined together, let not man put

asunder." In the same line of policy, Saint Paul, with a pen radiant with the fire of inspiration, wrote to the Corinthians, "flee fornication; every sin that a man doeth is without the body, but he that commiteth fornication sinneth against his own body. Know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost, which is in you, which ye have of God, and ye are not your own. To avoid fornication let every man have *his own* wife, and let every woman have *her own* husband. The wife hath not power of her own body, but the husband; and likewise the husband hath not power of his own body, but the wife. Defraud ye not the one the other." * * *

"Unto the married I command, yet not I but the Lord, let not the wife depart from her husband; nor let the husband put away his wife." Again, to the Ephesians, he said: "wives submit yourselves unto *your own* husbands as unto the Lord, for the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the Church; and he (the husband) is the saviour of the body. Therefore, as the Church is subject unto Christ, so let the wives be to *their own* husbands in every thing. Husbands love your wives even as Christ also loved the Church, and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify and cleanse it, that it should be holy and without blemish. So ought men to love their wives as their own bodies. He that loveth his wife loveth himself." And again, in his epistle to the Colossians, he not only reiterates the rules to be observed as to the private relation of husband and wife, but boldly asserts those in regard to the other two, of parent and child, and of master and servant, viz: "Wives submit yourselves unto *your own* husbands, as it is fit in the Lord. Husbands love your wives, and be not bitter against them. Children obey your parents in all things, for this is well pleasing unto the Lord. Fathers provoke not your children to anger, lest they be discouraged. Servants obey in all things your masters according to the flesh, not with eye service as men pleasers, but in singleness of heart, fearing God; and whatsoever ye do, do it heartily, as to the Lord and not unto men. Masters give unto your servants that which is just and equal, knowing that ye also have a master in Heaven." In the same epistle, the great Apostle significantly adds the expression, "walk in wisdom toward them that are without (as to those who are not Christians) REDEEMING THE TIME."

It is perfectly evident that the leading idea of Christ, his Apostles, and their disciples, as to "redeeming the time," was the re-establishment of society upon the basis of the conjugal relation properly enforced as the source of all virtue, and the "*sine qua non*" of their system; and that for this purpose they endeavored to compel society to fall back upon first principles, as enunciated by Moses. Every Christian association,

as it came into being, enforced upon its individual members the rules and commands of the texts quoted, and placed again *femes covert "sub protestate viri"*—married women under the power of their husbands. The Fathers are no less explicit than the Apostles. Tertullian says: "The institutions of our ancestors, which directed women in the ways of sobriety and modesty, are fallen into disuse. Where do we find in marriage that felicity, so favored in former times by manners, and which for nearly six hundred years from the building of the city, (Rome,) was not submitted to a scrutiny of repudiation? At this time repudiation is the end as well as the design of marriage." Saint John, of the Golden Tongue, (Chrysostom,) says: "do not tell me of the laws of the land that permit you to separate by means of a writing of divorce. It is not according to those laws God will judge you, but by those he has established." Saint Gregory says: "the divorce is absolutely reprobated by our laws, though the Roman laws dispose otherwise." Saint Jerome says: "the laws of Cæsar are one thing, those of Christ another. The precepts of Papinian are to one effect, those of Paul to another." And Saint Ambrose says: "you send away your wife as if you had the right, as if you committed no crime in so doing, because human laws justify you. But the divine law forbids it."

But though Moses was thus evoked, and Christ thus spake, and the Apostles thus wrote, and the Fathers thus preached, the redeemers of the time encountered herein an almost insurmountable obstacle in the assurance of separate estates under the Roman law to married women. Society had grown familiar with the operation of the law, and accustomed to the independency of women, and universally regarded the husband in concubinage who attempted to deprive his concubine wife (for concubinage now generally substituted marriage) of her personal or property rights, as equally abhorrent with the assassin or robber. They hesitated, therefore, to encounter the wrath of the public by depriving women alone of personal independence and property rights; yet, that they should be deprived almost altogether of the first, and entirely of the last, was absolutely necessary to insure their due submission and obedience to their husbands, without which neither their chastity, nor private nor public virtue, could be restored. They therefore adopted communal regulations for their followers, and required that both husband and wife should surrender to the community their respective estates, which being done, the wife was immediately placed "*sub protestate viri*." The story in the Acts of the Apostles of Ananias and Sapphira, exemplifies the fact, and this is the solution, in brief, of the communistic system of the earlier Christians, concerning which so

much has been said and written without meaning. This system continued among them for many years, until thousands and hundreds of thousands were added to their numbers, and their power began to be felt in the State. Then their persecutions began. But through persecutions of fire and of water, of the rack and of the sword, of the stage and of the dungeon, they remained steadfast and firm in their faith and purposes, increasing in numbers and daily waxing stronger and stronger in society, when at length, Constantine politically established their religion as the religion of the Empire, and the Roman Catholic Church, with its sublime rights and gorgeous ceremonies, arose in majesty and strength upon the wreck of immorality and the ruin of polytheism.

The Church held, maintained, and consistently enforced upon its multitudinous host the commands of its divine head and His divine associates on the points in question; nor has it wavered in regard to them from that day to this. Its ameliorating influence was soon felt upon the body of the public law, and the decree of Constantine reducing the causes of divorce to three—to wit: "If the husband was an assassin, poisoner of his children, or had violated sepulchres, or if the wife was an adulteress, bawd, or poisoner," re-establishing the law, so far, nearly as it stood during the first five centuries of the city, attests the fact. It is true that Theodosius and Justinian afterwards, in their celebrated codes constituting the civil law, that has obtained on the continent of Europe ever since, multiplied the causes of divorce. But the Church claimed and exercised, through her ecclesiastical courts, jurisdiction over the subject, and caused to be adopted the broad distinction between marriages which were absolutely *void*, and those which were merely *voidable*. For the first class alone—such as those made in violation of natural law, as consanguinity, affinity, impotency, &c., or those made in violation of a lofty morality, such as pre-contract, &c.—did she permit divorce from the "bonds of matrimony," the divorce in every instance springing from a cause existing *before* marriage, invalidating under the ruling of Moses and Christ the marriage itself. With regard to the last class—such as those which gave rise to unhappiness between the parties, and with regard to which the cause of divorce originated *after* marriage, as fornication, adultery, or other infamy—she allowed a separation from "bed and board," but no absolute divorce entitling the contraction of a new marriage. The age of the Catacombs was succeeded by the age of the Basilicas, and order was measurably restored to the world for a time. But the advent of Mahomet, the rapid spread of Islamism, the fall of Constantinople, the double destruction of books and records—that

of whole libraries by the Mahometans, and that of all writings which were regarded as lewdly profane by the Christians—and the fierce contentions between the two principles of religion, sundered the Roman Empire into fragmentary nations, threw the world again into disorder, and plunged the Caucasian mind into a long night of ignorance and fanatical faith. Nevertheless, through all of this, the Romish Church firmly upheld her beacon lights as regards the domestic relations, courageously adhered to the fundamental principles of the Redeemer, and persistently asseverated his mandates against divorce and its attendant moral evils. The fragmentary sundering of the Roman Empire in the manner indicated, was still further increased in Europe by the feudal system, itself derived from the civil polity of Constantine and his successors. Under this system the States of Europe were divided and subdivided, and every division had its chieftain, with castle, draw-bridge, and moat, whose petty polities were constantly dictating alliances to be perfected by intermarriages, and through which, it came to pass into common usage to make contracts of marriage between infants, to be consummated at maturity. The parties thus contracted received each other at maturity as man and wife; but, too often, as they had never before met, or before meeting entertained some other passion, instantly conceived for each other mutual disgust by reason thus arising, of personal dislike, or incompatibility of taste, habit, and education. The inevitable effect of this was separation, infidelity, and bastardy. At length, through these causes, nearly all, if not all the controlling families of Europe, bore a "*bar sinister*" upon their escutcheons. To rid themselves of the adulterous odium, they applied to the Church for divorces and the solemnization of their morganatic alliances; but, in every instance, the Church refused to grant the relief they prayed for. On a memorable occasion she refused the application of Henry the Eighth of England, as at a later day, under still more remarkable circumstances, she refused that of the Emperor Napoleon. She would have no divorce "*a vinculo matrimonii*" save for cause existing *prior* to marriage. She conceived it more wise to let such matters meet with their self-imposed punishments, and ultimately to regulate themselves, than to do violence to the leading principles of her divine founder. The result was, that the Church incurred the hostility of some of the kings, and many of the petty princes of Europe. At the same time the various abuses that her almost unlimited and uncontradicted power engendered, but not more obnoxious than those which have resulted from other national Church establishments, or that would result from the unlimited sway of any one of the present Protestant

sectaries, opened the way to serious attack from any disaffected quarter within her own bosom. Luther on the one hand, and Calvin on the other, arose, and discovering the existing state of affairs within and without the Church, raised the standard of rebellion to her authority. At one and the same time, they struck at the encroachments of the Church on temporal power, and the malpractices of the priesthood, such as the sale of indulgences by some, and the immoral conduct of others; and they courted support and aid to their movement from the disappointed bastard and adulterous chieftains who were anxious to be legitimated, and to be relieved from the sin of adultery without discarding their passionate attachments, which could only be done through divorcement for causes arising *after* marriage. This they readily yielded, and the kings of England, Prussia, and Saxony, together with many petty princes, combined and substantiated what has been historically styled the Protestant Reformation.

Thus divorces "*a vinculo matrimonii*," for cause arising *after* marriage, came again to be opened up in Europe. Luther and Melancthon contended that the language of Christ—"who-soever shall put away his wife, *save for the cause of fornication*, causeth her to commit adultery," although followed by the words—"and whosoever shall marry her that is put away causeth her to commit adultery," clearly established the propriety of divorce for fornication and adultery. It is not my province here to decide the merit of this interpretation, nor to enter into those fierce contentions which now arose between the Protestants and Catholics struggling for supremacy, involving bloody wars and general woe for several centuries. Suffice it to say, that the Protestant nobles gained from the Reformers the point, in regard to which they had vainly importuned the Church of Rome, and that wherever the Protestant sectaries have gained a lodgment, marriage had come to be regarded more and more in the light of a civil contract than that of a sacrament. It was a sacrament in Rome before the Christian era, so long as Roman virtue graced the life of Romans. In the sixth century of the city it was converted from a sacrament to a civil contract, and Roman virtue perished. Christ, his Apostles, and the Fathers re-established it as a sacrament, and to make it binding as such, deprived married women of independent revenues and separate estates, and subjected them to the proper control of their husbands. The rule they declared was adopted by the Roman Catholic Church, maintained by her ecclesiastical courts in despite of the civil law, and is still adhered to by her wherever she has the power to enforce its observance. Her rejection of the petition of Napoleon the Great, in the very zenith of his power,

evidences the fact beyond dispute. But the Protestant reformation not only to a great extent destroyed her religious potentiality in Europe, but also weakened the control of the ecclesiastical over the civil law. It is only in this manner that we may legitimately solve the seeming paradox existing at this day in Catholic countries, of a state of society in point of morals at war with the fundamental principles of society rigidly upheld by the Church. A Protestant myself through all my ancestral lines back to the age of Harry the Eighth, I have no disposition, apart from the truth, to uphold a system of religion which I do not profess, or to vindicate a Church foreign to my affiliations. But candor compels me to add, that the present condition of society in the nations of Europe, even where the Catholic religion prevails, cannot justly be attributed to the influence of the Church of Rome. On the contrary, the Church of Rome can scarcely be said now to govern in Europe in any direction. She was long since expelled from all the Russias, from England, Scotland, Norway, Sweden, Prussia, Holland, Saxony, and a part of Switzerland, and placed under bans in Ireland and France. Every where she has been robbed of her ancient potentiality. At the same time her tribunals, which once thundered the edicts of the ecclesiastical law in wrathful energy above those of the civil law, in matters affecting the conjugal relation, have been prostrated before the civil tribunals. The state of morals in Catholic Europe and elsewhere can only be attributed, with philosophical accuracy, to the full assertion of the civil law ruling in affairs of marriage, divorce, and separate estates, and in all other questions that enter into the relation of husband and wife, over her enfeebled though reverend head. As well might it be attempted to attribute the laxity of morals existing in certain countries where Protestantism prevails, of which more will be presently seen, to the Protestant religion, as to attribute the laxity of morals in countries where Catholicism prevails, to the Catholic religion. In neither the one case nor the other has the prevailing Church any longer the power by force of legal punishment, the only effective force to be applied, to control the subject, however pure her teaching and stern her mandates.

The colonial settlements of Spain, France, and England now commenced in America, within that region known as the United States. The two former brought with them the civil law and the Romish religion, and the last brought with them the common law and the Protestant religion. After the Revolution, and the adoption of the Constitution, the States then existing established each in its own way, as those since admitted have done, the three great private relations of life, and

each for itself regulated the subjects of marriage, divorce, and separate estates in "*femes covert*." In the non-slaveholding States, at an early day, the ruling of the common law herein, though more latitudinous than that of the ecclesiastical law, yet highly conservative, began to be relaxed. In the South, the purchase by the Government of the Louisiana territory, where the civil law obtained, and the admission of Louisiana as a State, with this law codified as the regulator of her domestic institutions, private and public, to the exclusion of the ecclesiastical law, caused the license of the civil law in relation to marriage, divorce, and the independency of women, to take effect in at least one of the slaveholding States. From these beginnings the moral and social departure of the Confederacy from the standard of right may be traced. In the non-slaveholding States the departure was from the conservative restraint over turbulent passion exercised by the common law. In Louisiana the departure was from the conservative restraint of the ecclesiastical law over the license of the civil law. The laxity of manners and morals in New Orleans has been remarkable, but fortunately for the body of the citizens of the State, they have been greatly conserved through the institution of negro slavery, through their plantation life, and through the potent influence of the surrounding Southern States, which were controlled until recently by the stringent letter of the common law. It was a happy circumstance for the slaveholding States that Louisiana alone adopted the civil law—that she was isolated by the civil law from the rest of her sisters—that no predominating influences, associated with commercial interests, trade, and industry, operated to constitute her, through New Orleans, the source and centre of Southern fashion; and that consequently, instead of receiving from her a destructive example, their superior force and influence made them preservative exemplars to her. Without this it is impossible to say what would have been the moral degradation of them all by this time. But the South controlled Louisiana, and not Louisiana the South. It was not until the departure of the North had become widely expanded, and the course of trade and commerce established Philadelphia, New York, and Boston as the centres of fashion, that danger threatened the moral and social integrity of the South.

In eighty years, the social system of the North has developed to a point in morals only reached by that of Rome in six centuries from the building of the city. It is no less curious than melancholy and alarming, to trace the parallel between them at these, their respective culminating points of advancement, before the sun of their virtue has descended into the sign of

the Scorpion,* attended with all manner of morbid disease, and to mark their psychological resemblances, commencing in either case with Puritanic austerity, but gradually though unequally attaining the standard of licentiousness, to end in utter, if not irretrievable demoralization. The impartial and sagacious observer, cannot fail to detect in the society of the North the worst features which characterized that of Rome just prior to the commencement of anarchy and civil war; and history can teach no lesson, if similar causes operating on a similar Caucasian people, under somewhat similar circumstances, do not engender similar results of good and, of evil. The independency of women—through laws creating separate estates in "*femes covert*," to the entire exclusion of the husband even as a managing agent—through enactments multiplying the causes of divorce "*a vinculo matrimonii*," so that divorces are granted, not only for a number of provocations, arising *after* marriage, but also for *prospective* cause, as in Pennsylvania; and through statutory enlargements of the grounds of maintenance, has come to be established and recognized throughout the North, as fully and perfectly as at Rome, when Valeria clipped from the head of Sulla his jovial curls in the theatre. To a similar extent, family unity has become destroyed, and domestic life has been deteriorated, until few families remain united any longer than children are unable to be forced to take care of themselves, but are scattered like sand by the wind, and the individualizing and self-respect engendering "*home life*" of a prudent, economical, and virtuous ancestry, has been and is being rapidly substituted for that of a segregationalising and animalizing "*hotel life*," breeding a passion for tinsel, and scorn of home joys and household duties, to the subversion of the first great private relation. In a similar manner, the sequential concomitants of parental obligation and filial affection have diminished, and are diminishing in their reciprocal actions, sundering the bonds of the second great private relation, whilst, as to the third, the exactions of servitude always in proportion to the necessities of the employee, make the existence of the servant in this system, though styled a *freeman* and not a *slave*, as at Rome, one of unceasing toil and of unending anxiety, a day in and day out routine of painful labors and of painful thoughts, and constitutes his life, not only what physiologists have styled life to be, "*a passing pang*," but a continued agony on the rack, nor yet are his miseries fully realized, but are still to come, and are not to be averted.

The philosophy of morals demands the existence of all the

* See Macrobius and the Abbé, Pluche on the signs of the Zodiac.

moral relations intact. The elementary principles of a pure and stable society, like those that enter into the construction of Jacob's ladder, may not exist separate and apart, but grow out of each other, and must remain linked in mutual agreement, and bound indissolubly together. In the social system of the non-slaveholding States, it is painful to discover the extent to which these elementary social principles have been, in the first place, disunited, and afterwards distinctively weakened, through legal invasion, without ecclesiastical or other restraint. In vain the religious sectaries, whether Protestant or Catholic, undertake to control their members by mere church rules levelled against divorce and future marriage. The fashion of the times, backed by the law of the land, render of little or no effect all church effort, even where sincerely made, as with the Episcopal societies. But, for the most part, in the Protestant Church associations, their rules upon the subject are mere words without meaning. Of late years their pulpits have been resonant with interpolations of the Scriptures adverse to the plain language of Moses and of Christ as regards slavery, rather than with the enunciation of their conserving and redeeming truths, and the advancement of the social happiness of man. The radical democracy of their agrarian masses have had no obstacles interposed to their law-making propensities, and through the law they have prostrated the private relations of life, destroyed the just balance between these relations, and reduced each to a condition unphilosophical, and fraught with troubles as infinite and mischievous as those supposed to have been loosed upon the world from the fabled box of Pandora. Like the celebrated artist of antiquity, I would, through respect to human nature, soften down its infirmities, but the times demand a pen of steel, dipped in fire, to blaze forth the truth in men's eyes, so that imminent danger may be shunned, and threatened wrath may be averted. Courage should assume the task imposed by patriotism. Public evil calls for public remedy, and to apply the remedy the evil must be exposed to view. Here the evil is monstrous, beyond conception or belief, I fear. The daily necessities of citizens calling for all their exertions, and the current of events pressing resistlessly onwards and pre-occupying the mind, leave to few the privilege of asking whither are we tending? As a general rule, mankind silently yield to the tide of human affairs, and few or none attempt to stem its torrent. Too late they discover the cataract before them, and in the next moment are precipitated into oblivion. Would I had the tongue of prophet and apostle to arrest the North from its impending fate, or this failing to save the South from influences that must become destructive *in the Union*.

Through the evil engendered by law and fashion, and now thoroughly substantiated in the non-slaveholding States, their moral and social integrity, if not entirely overthrown, is seriously threatened with subversion. Already we have fearful indications of the fact on every hand. Mormonism, or the avowal and practice of bigamy, though the number of males and females at the age of puberty is equally divided; Amalgamationism, or the avowal and practice of alliances between whites and blacks, though the result is hybridity and degeneration; Free-loveism, or the avowal and practice of promiscuous animal indulgence, though in contravention of the design of the Almighty in the creation; Socialism, or the open surrender of the private relations to the public community, not to reconstruct, but to destroy; Infidelity, or the denial of Divine authority in the churches, so that humanitarianism may substitute a practical society; Spiritualism, or the attempt to frame a system of religion in abnegation of Moses and the Prophets, Christ and the Apostles, though founded in morbid hallucination; and last, and most fatal, because the most insidious and difficult to overcome when once rooted, *concubinage, or marriage assimilated and desecrated to cohabitation*, like the mushroom, the surest mark of decay and rottenness; all operating in one general iconoclastic line—each having its thousands and hundred of thousands of advocates, supporters, and followers, individually or collectively meeting the observant eye in every locality of the North—evidence with awful mien and thundering voice the existing extent of moral and social disintegration. Nor is this all. Already married women, moving in the fashionable circles of the North, forego the duties of domestic life, bestow their minds on dress and equipage, and refuse to no inconsiderable extent, to undergo the pains of child-bearing. Already the tender mind of youth, of both sexes, is learned in the lore of the recent subtle discoveries of the French physiologists, clandestinely sold by infamous quacks, who quickly are bloated into millionaires through the contributions of combined passion and curiosity; secrets so momentous in their nature as only to be unfolded by the regular faculty to medical students in the penetralia of science, and as necessary to the full comprehension of their humane profession. Already it is known that marriage is not necessary to insure the enjoyments of love without detection and disgrace. Already legitimate marriages are dying out, the startling report is even now ringing in the ear that in Boston, in 1856, they were “twenty per cent. less” than in 1855. Already the priceless gem of chastity in woman has been despoiled of its talismanic charm with men; no longer

“A thousand liveried angels lackey her,”

but seducers and parasites guard and dog her footsteps. Already defilements cover the land, such as those for which Joshua smote the Pagan nations; such as those for which the earth vomited out her inhabitants; such as those for which the Jews were surrendered into captivity, and the Israelites were destroyed; such as those for which Rome was drenched with slaughter; such as those for which the eternal law of vengeance decreed in Heaven, has been, time and again, and will be again stamped upon the monumental world with the unerasive signet of God!

These dishonoring practices of the North are linked with others there, of a different nature, that no less indicate the fall of private and public morality. In every sphere of life her citizens are controlled by the same principles of human action that operated during the decay of republican virtue at Rome. There seems to exist no longer among them an elevated moral standard, proceeding from and allied to the wisdom of Heaven, to which each individual for himself may appeal as the guide of his conduct, without regard to others, and feel satisfied, whether he stands alone or is associated with millions, he acts upon the right that has no "shade or shadow of turning," and is mentally assured he does no violence to propriety and law, human or divine. In the place of this standard the rule is adopted that, *so long as exposure is avoided, no wrong is done.* Their social system being a segregational or aggregational and not an individual system, the individual necessarily feels himself to be but an accretion to the mass, and must, to a great extent, lose his personal identity or individualism. The loss of his individualism carries with it, as a matter of course, failure in the cultivation of a proper self-respect. The want of substantial self-respect absolutely involves a want of personal honor and bearing, as a distinctive being. He who is thus circumstanced, as a general rule, merely assimilates himself to the community around him, and swells the torrent of vice and immorality of the segregated whole. He exercises, and can exercise, little or no independence of thought or of action. He studies, and must study, to appear as all others appear, to think as all others think, and to act as all others act, in dress, manners, and habit. Those personal peculiarities and psychological idiosyncrasies that constitute him distinctly from others, must be carefully concealed beneath the cloak of hypocrisy. His organic impulsions and appetites must be exercised in secret. Prudence and circumspection must be observed. Broad phylacteries must be worn. The exterior must conform and be agreeable to the general idea, however rotten and corrupt within, and offensive with the odor of an immoral carcass. In this system *subtlety* becomes the chief school of the

man, whose highest maxim is to *evade the spirit and shun the letter of the law*. In this school honor is but a word, a breath of air, as with Falstaff, and worldly wisdom is made the acme of perfection. The world is magnified and is ardently pursued, that passions may be sagaciously gratified without detection. The result is, that one is never so happy as, when in secret and conscious security, he smacks his lips with self gratulation over a feast of lust or crime, gained from the world by superior wit, dexterity, and cunning. Hence, in private, fellow entertains towards fellow close, scrutinizing, curious, and suspicious regard, and not frank, manly, and open trust; whilst in public, it too often happens *the criminal lurks beneath the jacket of the officer*. It is not exaggeration to say, that the moral and social superstructure of the North rests upon deceit and fraud. The evidences of this fact are as plentiful as blackberries in harvest time. They are to be seen in the church, in the saloon, in the counting-room, in the forum, and in the legislative halls. Who there believes in the advertisement of a newspaper? In the truth of an editorial? In a personal statement? Who will trust his neighbor, or even his friend? Neighborhood ensures no kindly office, and friendship wears the aspect of mutual utility, like a bargain. *Life is esteemed a warfare and society a cheat, in the midst of which the individual moves with virtue on his lips and vice in his heart*. The consequences are, what we find them to be, double dealing and overreaching in private life, and fraud, bribery, and peculation in public life. No informed Northern mind, under an appeal to truth, will deny the accuracy of this picture.

The danger to the South *in the Union* from the force of Northern example in these and other particulars, is imminent and cannot be exaggerated. Already, the South, with the honorable exception of South Carolina, have adopted to a fearful extent, Northern ideas on the subjects of divorce and the independency of married women, through separate estates and exclusive revenues. Already they have widely received the total-abstinence and Know-Nothing movements of the North, expressly and artfully thrown in their midst, under philanthropical and patriotic disguises, to undermine ultimately Southern institutions. Already they are imitating the fashions of the North, the schools of the North, the laws of the North, and the constitutions of the North. Already the North is becoming potential in the South through trade, through commerce, through education, through personal intercommunication, and through a constantly increasing emigration from the North to the South. Under these circumstances the advancing steps of the South *in the Union*, can only be in the line

of moral and social disintegration and degradation, heightened as greatly then by negro emancipation, as heretofore retarded by the conservative presence of negro slavery. At this day, I unhesitatingly assert, and challenge scrutiny throughout the world, that the purest, freest, most *honorable* and comfortable society, on God's earth is that of the South. But woe to the day, when *under the Union and the domination of the North*, the honor of her men shall be impaired, the chastity of her women shall be invaded, and the negro shall be emancipated; "when her enemy shall steal upon her as a thief in the night," and bind her to his purposes; when her pride shall be trampled upon, her freedom destroyed; and her land in loathing disgust, shall "vomit out" her weak, worthless, and defiled inhabitants! The obtuseness of that mind, amounts to idiocy, which fails to perceive in the uninterrupted progress of existing premises to their legitimate conclusion, the double subversion of the South; *first, politically; second, morally and socially.*

He who slumbers too long, slumbers fatally—LET THE SOUTH BEWARE.

I have the honor to be,
Very respectfully, yours,

PYTHON.

P. S.—The New York Herald of the ninth day of February, in speaking of the "*Burdell*" murder, and the "cause of crime at the North," makes the following admissions, viz:

"To trace such crimes, common as they are at the present day amongst communities equally civilized with ourselves, to a cause which has no uniform application, seems to us neither very philosophical nor very accurate. Are there no other influences at work to account for anomalies so strange?"

"We are aware that we shall be accused of the infidelity attributed to all practical minds, when we assert that the clergy of all denominations are in some degree to blame for the condition of society which engenders such evils. And yet, with the fear of this charge before our eyes, we do not hesitate to reiterate a conviction to which we have but too frequently had occasion to give expression. Who that has watched the course of the 'shining lights' of the different religious denominations for the last dozen years, but is forced to the reflection, that the christianity which these men teach has but little resemblance to the chastening, the elevating and benign doctrines inculcated by the Great Master whom they profess to serve? Their christianity is a dry, soulless, and technical creed, and not a religion of peace, charity, and good will amongst men. It is a christianity in which the 'pulpit drum ecclesiastic' and

the click of the Sharpe rifle are heard as substitutes for the voice of gentle reproof to the sinner, and of hope and encouragement to the penitent. Unlike the good pastor of Chancer, who conducted his flock to heaven by a silken thread, the parsons of our day deal in polemical bitterness and harsh condemnations of those who differ with them. Out of such seed what fruit are we to expect? A low tone of public morality and the prevalence of crime in quarters where ignorance and poverty cannot be said to exist, are the results that we must look for.

"There is another influence to which the prevailing depravity may be traced, but which, unfortunately, is of a more general and permanent character. We allude to the peculiarity of our social tastes, which induces us to live in herds, instead of in families, like other communities. We believe that nothing tends more to break down the barriers of morality than the indiscriminate association of the sexes which takes place in our boarding houses and hotels. The habits of the house in which the unfortunate Burdell met his fate, are, it is to be feared, but too common a sample of the morals of many of these places. With the facilities for sin afforded by them, it is not to be wondered at that the marriage tie should prove but a delusion, and that the relations of parents and children should not endure much beyond childhood. Of the effect of such influences upon society in general it is unnecessary for us to speak. They are patent to us in the desertions, the adultries, the forgeries, and the assassinations which daily take place, not only amongst the poor, but amongst the well born and educated."

To these extracts from the Herald may be added the following from the "Tribune."

The New York *Tribune* says: "John Doyan, aged 74 years, was found frozen to death near his woodpile, at Avon, Me., a few days since. He was the father of the noted 'Helen Jewett' who was murdered in Thomas street, in this city, nearly a quarter of a century since. It is not a little remarkable that the State of Maine has furnished this city with nearly all the well-known leaders of fashion in that class, from Helen Jewett to Kate Hastings. New Hampshire and Massachusetts rank next as sources of supply."

PYTHON.

CAPITAL AND LABOR.

In a recent number of this Review we intimated our desire to return at some future opportunity to the consideration of certain fallacies connected with the ordinary exposition of the relations of Capital and Labor, which are involved in the arguments of Prof. Rickards in his Essay on Population, and are common in the reasonings of many other writers on Political Economy. We now seek, with some hesitation, to realize our hopes.

Much has been written, with equal industry and ingenuity, on the subject of Capital, but precise and dogmatic as are the statements of Mr. Rickards, and the other members of the confraternity to which he belongs, greater discrimination and a more searching analysis are requisite before we can reasonably expect to attain a satisfactory acquaintance with the nature, functions, and effects of this great agency of production; or to escape the illusions and delusions arising from inaccurate or inadequate conceptions on this important, but slippery subject. If we attempt to apply the microscopic lens of rigorous logical investigation to the accepted doctrines and the prevalent expositions of Political Economists in regard to Capital, we shall find that the theory, apparently so orderly and symmetrical, is a confused chaos, in which the external semblance of organic regularity is obtained only by the sacrifice of internal harmony. This is a hazardous declaration, but it can be sustained. The Political Economists are as bigoted in their exaction of orthodoxy, and in the asseveration of the absolute orthodoxy of the canons of their church, as any theocracy that ever attained dominion. The creed is represented by many conflicting sects, but there is a catholic unity of belief and purpose imagined or pretended, whenever any opinion is uttered at variance with the formulas of the hierarchs. Adepts, and acolytes, and proselytes of the outer gate, are all thrown into confusion by the suspicion of a rising heresy—for they are as tenacious of a tenet once espoused, as servile in their observance of the letter of the law, as irritable at opposition, as clamorous for the immolation of skeptics, dissidents, and questioners, as the good people of Tentyra and Ombi, or the ignorant priesthood of any ignorant country or age. True, there are liberal minds and large intelligences among the leaders of the several sects, and also among their disciples; but their influence does not prevent the manifestation of a contrary spirit by the school, whenever an occasion occurs to provoke it. It is not many who are willing to act habitually on the admission that every science requires frequent re-examination

and correction before its conclusions can be received as valid or permanent; and that long discussion and numerous doubts, sometimes misplaced, sometimes just, are necessary for the expansion and improvement of any department of knowledge. The recognition of these truths will confirm us in venturing to provoke the wrath of the purists, and in inviting the indulgence of those who deem it better that the waters of science should be, from time to time, agitated to their lowest depths, than that they should be left to stagnate beneath the green slime and luxuriant weeds which gather on a still surface. We shall endeavor to discover and dissipate the errors which we suspect; and, if we are unable to convince, against their will,

The pious godly flocks,
Well fed on pastures orthodox;

if even we should be betrayed into new errors ourselves by abandoning the hard and beaten path, there is room to hope that we may possibly introduce a little clearer light into the mysteries of the subject for the illumination of others. It is not, indeed, any direct opposition to the doctrines of the Political Economists, any positive refutation of distinct tenets, which is contemplated by us. Our solicitude is rather to extend their explanations, to dissect their principles, to elucidate the elements of their inquiries, and to correct the fallacies resulting from their insufficient discrimination of the premises employed and the inferences drawn by them. This is all. We range ourselves on the side of the Political Economists; we are desirous of advancing their standards; but they may resent the qualified acquiescence in their positions, and the co-operation which does not proceed from an easy faith in their absolute infallibility. Let us proceed to our investigation.

"Capital," says Prof. Rickards, "is the produce of past labor saved from immediate consumption, and employed for the purpose of producing something else."* This is assuredly a very indefinite definition, especially in its latter clause; but it agrees in the main, though not entirely, with the definitions of other Political Economists, and serves to establish a distinction perhaps too wide for accuracy, between capital and land, or labor. Say gives no formal definition that we can discover; he enumerates the species and explains the process of the formation and multiplication of productive capital.† The younger Mill informs us that the "accumulated stock of the produce of labor is termed capital."‡ This is more definite

* Population and Capital, Lecture I., p. 7.

† Political Economy, B. i, ch. iii., pp. 71-2; ch. xi, pp. 109-111; Am. Ed.

‡ Principles of Political Economy, B. i, ch. iv, sec. i.

and generic than the language of Mr. Rickards, and it omits his restriction of the appellation to values employed in reproduction. Dr. Cooper, whose *Manual of Political Economy* is one of the most lucid and convenient expositions of the science, declares capital to be "that portion of a man's revenue which remains as a surplus or saving after all his expenditures are made."* This is obviously incorrect, both in expression and in meaning. The surplus indicated may be the residue of rents, profits, wages, or treasure trove; it may become capital, but it is not so of its own nature. The expenditures, too, may in part be already capital invested in reproduction; but they are excluded from consideration by the terms employed. Moreover, the meaning of an abstract term cannot be defined by a particular example, and the contrast is certainly complete between capital and revenue. The elder Mill explains, but does not define. He affords, however, a sufficient intimation of his views by remarking, that "the instruments which aid labor, and the materials on which it is employed, are all that can be correctly included in the idea of capital."† Adam Smith was not partial to definitions, nor was he felicitous in constructing them. He furnishes none of capital, but his language implies that he understood it to mean the accumulated results of past savings, and, as he held that "labor is the ultimate price which is paid for everything."‡ Capital, in his system, would signify the accumulated results saved from past labor. McCulloch's *Treatise on Political Economy* is not now within our reach, but in his annotations on the *Wealth of Nations*, he remarks that "it is enough to make an article be regarded as capital, that it can either directly contribute to the support of man, or assist him in appropriating or producing commodities."§ This is an indication rather than a definition; it is very vague, and is obviously too large, not only for scientific precision, but even for popular accuracy. The hand, the eye, the wind, the ocean, everything in the physical constitution of the universe, and in the moral, intellectual, and physical constitution of man, is embraced in the ample and uncertain language of McCulloch. According to him, everything is capital, which may be instrumental in producing anything that may become capital.

It is unnecessary to extend further our search amongst the Political Economists for a definition of capital. We shall find neither the precision, nor the agreement, which might have

* Lectures on the Elements of Political Economy, chap. ii, p. 31.

† Elements of Political Economy, chap. i, sec. ii, pp. 16-18.

‡ Wealth of Nations, B. i, chap. xi, p. 87.

§ Wealth of Nations, B. i, chap. i, p. 120, note.

been expected in regard to such an important and fundamental principle of the science. At the same time, we are not disposed to insist upon the disagreement. From the definitions exhibited, it will be evident, that it would be easy to find strong grounds for censure, if our object was to detect and enlarge upon the weak points of the science, instead of being to discover the common ground of agreement, which reconciles all the professors of the school, and may furnish a distinct notion of the essential character of capital. Such a principle of harmony we believe to exist, and have accordingly said, that Mr. Rickards' definition was in accordance with the general doctrine. The main defect everywhere, is the absence of lucidity of conception and expression. In some definitions, there is surplusage, in others deficiency, in all indistinctness. The indecision of the original exposition of the nature of capital is, in great measure, obviated in the process of the development of the science, by the introduction of the species of capital, such as productive and unproductive, circulating and vested, instruments, provisions, and raw materials. There is, moreover, some excuse for the want of technical precision, arising from the fact, that Political Economy is not an abstract, but an applied science, it deals with the practical transactions of life in their concrete form, and is continually and inevitably immersed in matter, according to the expression of Lord Bacon.

There is one idea necessarily involved in the conception of capital, which is not prominently exposed in any of the definitions quoted, this is the idea of exchangeable value. But value is unfortunately a term more fluctuating in its employment, more various in its meanings than even capital itself. Exchangeable value is also as changeable in reality, as it is in our language. Not only is there no such thing as a common measure of value, but the reciprocal relations of values are at all times oscillating and uncertain. It would, therefore, be extremely hazardous, to introduce a term so slippery into the body of a definition, but it is impossible to exclude it altogether from our conception of capital, without restricting ourselves, as many Political Economists have done, to the mere specification of the particular things which may be regarded as capital. Many of the perplexities of Political Economy may, perhaps, be attributable to the unsteady nature of the latent idea of exchangeable value.

Were it not for the embarrassments intimated, there might be no objection to defining capital as the exchangeable values accumulated from the productions of past labor. Undoubtedly Capital and Labor are conjoined in all efficient production in any society advanced beyond the extreme rudeness of savage life. But it is always possible to trace back the

genealogical descent of production to the time when the acquisitions of man were limited to those won by the unaided labor of his own two hands. Even then, however, the rudimentary gem of the functions of capital, might be detected or imagined in the natural support supplied by the mother to her infant, and in the maintenance of the yet impotent child.

In the definition of capital suggested, not as philosophically sufficient in itself, but, as accordant with the views of Political Economists, and as a provisional approximation to a correct definition, there are at least two terms which require explanation, before the idea of capital can be reached. These are exchangeable values and labor; productions might also require elucidation, if it were necessary to accept it, merely in its technical significance, and if any additional explanation were requisite after apprehending the meaning of exchangeable values. As, however, the notion of such value is not openly presented in the customary definitions of capital, we will omit its consideration for the present, and confine our attention to the other of the two terms indicated.

All capital ultimately reposes upon labor, for by labor it was originally commenced, and has been subsequently preserved, reproduced, and augmented. Before there can be any adequate comprehension of capital, the nature of labor must be known. The expression is so simple, so familiar, and in such habitual use, that it seems almost useless to inquire into its meaning. Nevertheless, it is impossible to create a science, or to reason with any security, unless the exact significance of the technical terms, which recur constantly in the course of the science, is previously established. It has been the continual accusation brought by the moderns against the philosophical speculations of the ancients, that they proceeded on popular notions, and on the vague and various acceptations of general terms in popular use. Thus it is alleged they were betrayed into endless errors. The peril has been so often signalized, and so abundantly exemplified, that at this late age of the world it would be inexcusable to fall again into the same fallacious habits.

What then is labor? It has been found necessary to determine this point, before the nature of capital can be known. What do the Political Economists say that labor is? The word occurs on every page in their treatises, and is the *open sesame* of their science. How do they define it? It is a little surprising to find, at the outset of this inquiry, that "Dr. (Adam) Smith has nowhere stated the precise meaning he attached to the word labor;"* but it is equally surprising that McCulloch,

* Wealth of Nations, Ed. McCulloch. Note 1, p. 435.

after noticing this omission, should attempt to supply it by such a crude definition as he has suggested. Labor "may be properly defined," says he, "any sort of action, or operation, whether performed by man, the lower animals, machinery, or natural agents that tends to bring about any desirable result." This is exceedingly unscientific and illogical; it would permit us to regard as labor, the breath of the cool evening wind which fans the feverish cheek of the sick, and moderates the quick pulsation of his blood. What is required is the limitation of the meaning of a singularly equivocal word; and not its enlargement. The labor of animals, instruments, and machinery falls under the category of capital in Political Economy, and must be broadly distinguished from the technical term labor, when this is employed in contrast with capital. The term is employed in many different senses, some one of which may approximate to McCulloch's definition; but beneath the indirect and metaphorical applications of the word, there must be some special, precise, primitive, or technical meaning, which justifies or tolerates the secondary usages. This central idea has not been disclosed by Mr. McCulloch.

The elder Mill, perceiving the necessity for supplying subsistence to the laborer in order to obtain his labor or its results, and, perhaps, being misled by the obvious tendency of the wages of labor to sink to the level of the mere requirements of subsistence, has confounded subsistence and labor together in such a manner as to prevent their ready separation from each other in his doctrine.* "By the term labor," says Say, "I shall designate that continuous action, exerted to perform any one of the operations of industry, or a part only of one of those operations."† Without noticing other objections to this formula presented in a philosophical treatise, it may be asked if the idea of labor is not involved in that of industry? If so, then the unknown is defined by the unknown, and that which requires definition is explained by itself. One term is substituted for another—a less intelligible circumlocution for a word. Dr. Cooper is much more successful. According to him, labor is "human exertion employed to produce or confer value or utility on any raw material."‡ This may be redundant, and may not even yet be sufficiently precise to prevent error or indistinctness of conception; but it conveys the idea usually attached to the word in treatises on Political Economy.

The younger Mill does not define. He has given us admirable reasons, both in his essays on Political Economy and in his remarkable system of logic, for avoiding definitions in the inception of a science; but it is assuredly true that Political

* Chap. i., sect. i., pp. 8-10. † Book i., chap. vii., p. 85. ‡ Chap. ii., p. 30.

Economists should be both agreed in regard to their first principles, and able to render their significance clearly intelligible to others. Mr. Mill, however, informs us that "labor is either bodily or mental; or, to express the distinction more comprehensively, either muscular or nervous, and it is necessary to include in the idea, not solely the exertion itself, but all feelings of a disagreeable kind, all bodily inconvenience or mental annoyance, connected with the employment of one's thoughts, or muscles, or both, in a particular occupation."* This confusion and combination of "thoughts and muscles," of "muscular and nervous" exertion is appropriate in a writer like Mr. Mill, who pursues, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the phantoms of a low materialistic philosophy. The confusion, however, is not confined to Mr. Mill, it is interwoven with the whole framework of the science in the hands of all its teachers. It has passed from the popular usage, where it is neither objectionable nor inappropriate, into the systematic philosophy of the school. Yet the distinction is nearly as marked between bodily and mental labor, as between labor and capital. When the phrase labor is nakedly employed, when mention is made of the laboring classes, of the wages of labor, of labor as the origin of production, and as the main source of exchangeable value, of the different effects of labor and capital, it is not mental labor which either is or ought to be present to the mind. Mental labor approximates in its properties and functions so closely to capital, and effectual mental labor is so largely the result and the representative of the expenditure of capital, in any society to which the doctrine of Political Economy can be practically applied, that it may be with more propriety classified along with capital than with labor. It is true that land thoroughly improved, with tile drains, irrigated by ditches or steam-engines, heavily manured, and diligently cultivated with the subsoil plough, and fertilized by the multitude of modern or resuscitated inventions, presents much more of the appearance of a large vested capital than of the natural agent discussed in the books of the Political Economists. But this only tends further to show that the distinctions of those ingenious and persevering gentlemen are either insufficient or untenable, and require considerable rectification. An excuse may be found for past and present errors, "*occulta erant vitia non inquirendi*," but this will not sanction their perpetuation. De Quincey commenced a most praiseworthy undertaking in his *Logic of Political Economy*, a work which has been too little heeded, and whose achievements have not been extended by subsequent investigations in the same direction.

* Book i., chap. i., vol. i., p. 29.

But it were well, even now, to resume the intermitted task, and to settle clearly and distinctly the fundamental notions of Political Economy.

Cicero, without dreaming of this science, and attending only to the verbal accuracy and nice distinctions of the stoic sect, has furnished a definition of labor which might be advantageously substituted for that of the younger Mill. He calls labor a certain function of the mind or body, accompanied with exertion.* This contains, in a more compact and available form, all that is important in Mill's exposition, and how much superior it is to Professor Rickards' incidental statement—that "labor is the instrument by which commodities useful to man are extracted from that source, to wit: from natural agents."† And is not labor itself a natural agent?

It is not our purpose to deny that these and other Political Economists rightly contemplate a particular agent of production under the name of labor, and that they entertain a correct idea of its character and importance. But we are anxious to show that this idea is not rigidly fixed, and that they are singularly infelicitous in their efforts to express it in the measured language of science. The obscurity and fluctuation of their terms arise from the previous want of lucidity in their conceptions, and they generate in the progress of speculation further obscurities and fluctuations, and very frequently fallacies which are neither discerned nor suspected.

Thus, it appears, that a sufficient apprehension of the nature of capital cannot be obtained without a previous recognition of the strict meaning of labor, and that neither capital nor labor is adequately defined or even restricted in the treatises of Political Economy. The house is built upon the sand; the substructions must be strengthened and made stable before the shelter offered can be either permanent or secure. We do not propose to frame new definitions, as our object is solely to indicate and unravel the perplexities resulting from past failures in this direction; but we do propose to manifest briefly in the course of our remarks the essential characteristics of capital and labor, and the manner in which the great question of population and subsistence is affected by them.

Political Economy is essentially the theory of values, and has been so defined by M. Bastiat. Consequently, in all its divisions and subdivisions, and in the operation of all the agencies directly contemplated by it, the production of exchange-

* "Labor est functio quedam vel animi vel corporis gravioris operis et muneris." Cic. Tusc. Disp. ii, xv, § 35. If we add to this the application of the function to the production of commodities or exchangeable values, we obtain even a better definition than that given by Dr. Cooper.

† Population and Capital, ch. i, p. 2.

able values may be tacitly understood. Other things and other values may be mentioned, but they are specified only for the purpose of exclusion, that the foreign conceptions represented by them may not be permitted to interfere with the orderly development of an homogeneous doctrine. It may, therefore, be unnecessary to add to the definition of labor, as the purpose of its application, its employment in the production of exchangeable values, or of commodities, or of things useful, but this antecedent restriction of its meaning cannot be safely neglected, and is involved in the very nature of the science.

Let us say, then, with Cicero, that labor is a certain function of the mind or body. A reason has been already assigned for excluding from our consideration mental labor so far as this is separable from bodily effort. We thus arrive at Dr. Cooper's definition very nearly, omitting, as unnecessary, the direction given to labor which is expressed by him, and we may regard labor simply as human exertion. It seems to us that the central idea, always present to the mind, though not always disentangled from accidental associations, in the technical usage of the term, is the physical exertion of man. As men, however, differ from each other in muscular capacity, in endurance, in dexterity, these differences must be eliminated from the meaning of the word before it becomes suitable for technical employment. This rectification is readily obtained by disregarding the varying efficiency of the labor of individuals, and confining the attention solely to that which may be regarded as the type or measure of the average physical capacity of men. Some implement or implements may be required for the efficacious exertion of nearly every laborer, but they are too unimportant to require special consideration. Some application of mind may be necessary for the guidance of his muscular powers, but this too may be disregarded as too trivial, and at the same time too universal to generate distinctions. The only intellectual exertion supposed to be requisite is that average mental capacity which may be supposed to appertain to every man, and to be requisite for the suitable exercise of his physical energies.

It will thus be seen that, though it may be impossible, amid the complications of an advanced state of society, to effect any complete separation of labor and capital, or of physical and mental exertion, there is no difficulty in establishing a rigid distinction between them. All the diverse elements or agencies of Political Economy run into each other in actual operation, though they may be sufficiently distinguished from each other for all the purposes of theory; but great care will be at all times requisite to avoid the perplexity and confusion which

may result from their conjunction in the forms of their concrete manifestation. This admixture, in fact, with the difficulty of preserving the separation in theory, has been productive of many of the embarrassments and uncertainties which still attend speculation on these subjects.

It is impossible to go back, except in imagination, or by the artifice of metaphysical abstraction, to a period when nothing but the labor of man—the exercise of his rude physical energies—was engaged in the satisfaction of his wants. The spear, the tomahawk, the bow and arrows of the savage—his implements of warfare or the chase; his scanty and clumsy cooking utensils, reveal already the rudiments of capital, which are further disclosed in his tent, his skins, and the meat saved from the last hunting expedition. As yet the soil is unappropriated, the hunting grounds of the tribe are a common possession; no thought is entertained of introducing any distinction between the labor of the hunter or fisherman and the scanty instruments which aid his toil, or the scanty supplies which sustain himself and his family during the interval of his exertions. Labor is still united with capital, under its two forms of subsistence and tools, and the union is much more permanent than is usually supposed.

The savage life passes away with the increase of intelligence, of numbers, and of wants. The game of the forests is no longer sufficient for support, and the uncertainties of such an existence suggest the surer dependence of flocks and herds. Capital now receives a distinct and obvious existence. It is a significant tradition of this stage of society, that the earliest names of money, the earliest images impressed upon coin, were derived from sheep and oxen. Until, however, the development of the spirit of appropriation, and the increase of the elements of riches had produced marked inequalities of wealth, the dissimilar character of capital and labor attracts but little attention. Such inequalities, however, speedily arise; different degrees of diligence and skill, differences of rank in the rude political organization, the rapacity of some, the feebleness of others, the forethought or parsimony of a few, divide the roving community by the distinctions of poverty and wealth.

There is scarcely any condition in society so barbarous, that it is not true, that

Some wollin spende, and some woll spare,
And some woll laye it up in store;*

thereby producing dissimilarities of individual well-being, and manifesting the origin of capital. But it is not until the

* Chaucer; *Canterbury Tales*; *Plowman's Tale*; part iii, v. 2,667.

change, at least to a nomade life has been accomplished, that these discrepancies are so signal or so permanent as to occasion any important alteration in the relations between the members of the society.

But when one man owns a thousand sheep on a hundred hills, and another no sheep at all; when one possesses much more than is requisite for the subsistence of himself and his immediate family, from day to day, and from year to year, and another must depend entirely upon his almost unaided physical energies for his daily bread; the contrast in the situations of two parties becomes most important, and the distinction between capital and labor is not only clearly discernible, but becomes the occasion of significant effects.

The thousand sheep require to be looked after—they must be driven to new pastures as the old fail, food may have to be provided for them against winter—and they may be benefitted by attention in the lambing season. It becomes inexpedient, or impossible for the owner to attend to all this himself. His possessions are as yet unprotected by settled laws, and the strong arm of a regular government to enforce them; they are still entirely personal; they are the man's property, his own, but the appropriation must be defended, if need be, by arms, against the incursions of adjacent tribes, or against the aggressions of his fellows. It is thus advisable to assume for himself the duties of a warrior, a chief, or a judge, and to devolve upon those who have neither possessions nor property of their own, the care of his flocks, affording to them subsistence from his abundance in return for their pastoral services. Thus labor enters into the employment of capital, and transfers its capacities to the latter as the price of its maintenance.

But, in those primitive ages, and in that undisciplined phase of society, the only form of government is a patriarchal despotism, founded on the framework of the family; and the only type of service is that absolute absorption into the household, which is known as slavery. But the slave is the money of his master, and thus labor itself becomes identified with capital, and is undistinguishable from it. This identification of the two main agencies of production, wherever it occurs, is the cause of numerous and singularly influential results in the social economy, but those we cannot now take into consideration.

Labor, property, and capital, being thus manifested in the course of human progress, and exhibited in such a form as to admit of their contradistinction, another step in the line of advancement becomes requisite. The soil still remains a common possession; but when population is augmented, and flocks are multiplied, more must be demanded from the boun-

ty of the earth than it can yield to those who roam over its surface throughout the year. The land must be appropriated, apportioned, and cultivated; but long the pastures and the forests will remain commons, the common possession, if not the common property. The soil must be cultivated for its fruits. Its fresh exuberance will enlarge the chasm which separates the haves from the have-nots, rendering the latter more dependent than ever upon the former for the necessities of existence.

The settled habits, and the domestic life introduced by agriculture, occasion new wants imagined before, and at the same time furnish the leisure, and stimulate the ingenuity which may supply them. Ploughs, harrows, harness, wagons, spades, rakes, forks, barns, presses for the grape or olive, casks, jars, and multitudinous other devices are invented and constructed to satisfy an ever enlarging demand. Thus manufacturing industry is added to agricultural, and commerce arises to exchange the superfluities and to replenish the deficiencies of different regions.

At each stage in the line of advancement the amount and the importance of the services of capital are increased: at each step the dependence of labor on capital becomes more rigid and general. There is an historical progression in the reciprocal relations of these two agencies of production which is forgotten in abstract discussions, and is not readily embraced within the compass of formal definitions. At each step, too, of this progression, the division of labor, or rather of the functions or applications of labor, is extended; and of course, in proportion to this extension is the dependence of the laborer upon the fruits of the labor of others, or upon the capital which represents and procures those fruits, rendered more manifold and inevitable. This necessarily increases the ascendancy of capital, always in the ascendant, since the day when capital and labor admitted of any visible distinction; and, as aggression and self-gratification are the characteristics of every sort of dominion, it embitters at the same time the natural antagonism between the classes of the capitalists and the laborers.* So long as the laborer is a slave, and therefore a portion of his owner's capital, though exercising himself a conscious agency, and subject to the moral law, both in his claims and his responsibilities, this antagonism has scarcely any existence in fact. But, it immediately becomes operative when the interests of capital have accorded emancipation to

* It may be, and it has frequently been denied, that there is any such opposition between capital and labor. It may be a sufficient reply, to refer to the remarkable admissions of M. Michael Chevalier, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Paris. *Die. d'Ouverture*; 3 Mai, 1840.

the slaves, and employed their free services under the stipulations of a contract. For, then, the competition among the laboring classes, as soon as population becomes redundant, reduces the wages of labor down to the level of subsistence, scanty or inadequate, or ample, according to the times and circumstances, and throws into the hands of the employers all the results of labor in excess of such subsistence.

The phenomena of this movement are concealed in a great measure by the fact, that labor, and skill, and intelligence, and education, and even some amount of capital, are usually conjoined in varying proportions; raw labor being a much rarer commodity in the market than a perfectly raw material. It is almost impossible to find the article in an entirely crude state, though the laborer himself may be often discovered in a very degraded condition. In the great body of society, all these productive powers appear amalgamated together in endless diversity. Still, as we said before, there is a certain average capacity of mind, and a certain modicum of capital, which may be appropriately disregarded in this union with labor. On the other hand, more than average capacity of mind, whether the gift of nature, the fruit of experience, or the slow result of study, constitutes of itself a species of capital, and must be distinguished from mere labor with even more care than it is distinguished from capital. The contrast exists between the extremes, its effects may regulate the intermediate phases, but are not readily discernible in them.

We say then, that capital and labor concur in nearly all production. We may say, practicably in all. Labor requires capital for subsistence, during the tender years of infancy and youth, and during the discharge of its functions. Capital requires labor for its preservation, profitable consumption, reproduction, and augmentation. So far, both are ordered in harmony. The ineradicable discord appears only when the time arrives for the division of the fruits. While the chase lasted entire concord prevailed between the lion and the inferior beasts, but a quarrel promptly grew out of the distribution of the spoil, the lion claimed the lion's share, and slew, dispersed, or cheated his humble companions. So it happens in the ultimate development of the relations of capital and labor, the chief burdens fall on the latter; the principal advantages enure to the benefit of the former. This is in the nature of things. On one side is daily want, daily labor, daily consumption of daily bread; on the other, is a new profit to be added to former profits to swell the general accumulation:

*Successus que novis successibus urgent.**

* Claudian De Land, Stilichon, i, v. 2.

The tendency, then is, (we do not allege it as a fact,) to reduce the wages of labor to the minimum required for subsistence, that is to say, to a limit where the dependence becomes absolute, permanent, and uncertain. There is a simultaneous tendency, consequent upon this, to reserve all gains for the share of capital; and though the rate of profit ordinarily diminishes with the aggregate multiplication of capital, yet profit is always an accession to a pre-existing fund, not simply the replacement of forces, energies, subsistence, commodities, consumed. It is the interest of labor, therefore, to lessen the proportion of the net product assigned to profits; it is the interest of capital to increase it. Here certainly is a conflict of interests. In this struggle, capital is almost universally successful; it has been so since the distinction between the two agencies became apparent; it must be so, as long as they remain separate. Each can justify its claims, so long as they can be conciliated with the maintenance of the common weal. We are not the advocates or the enemies of either, but just endeavor to unravel and expound the obscure mysteries of their joint action. Give to each its own, but so as to leave uninjured the superior rights of the general community:

*Utantur cuncti propriis, et jure furantur.**

We are now prepared to address ourselves to the question of population and subsistence, and to the paradoxes by which the contrary views of Malthus and Rickards are sustained.

It is a tenet of the Political Economists, which we shall not gainsay, that all labor judiciously applied, is profitable, that is to say, it produces a larger aggregate value, than was consumed in the process of its production.† From this, it is inferred, that production must outstrip consumption, that the increase of population must still more rapidly increase the means of subsistence; that wealth or capital is multiplied more abundantly than numbers. Prof. Rickards adds the limitation "in a progressive state of society;"‡ but such a limitation obviously begs the question, if the obvious construction be given to the phrase; if any other is given, it confuses it. He claims to have proved by his lectures on population and capital, "that the productive power of a community tends to increase more rapidly than the number of the consumers;" and to have proved it physically and historically.

With the abstract productive power we have no concern. Premature abstractions are the bane of science, and prevent

* Corippus De Land, Justin, Min. ii, v. 257.

† This doctrine is older than the Political Economists. "Nusquam nec opera sine emolumento, nec emolumentum sine opera impensa est." Liv. lib. v. c. iv. § 4.

‡ Population and Capital, Lect. v. pp. 124-'25.

the recognition of concrete realities. Sir Isaac Newton might prove on abstract principles that the whole solid substance of the solar system might be compressed into a nut shell, but we will not attempt to enclose a flower bed in such narrow limits. Concede this productive power and it will not lead to the practical conclusion anticipated. Admit the physical and historical demonstration, and we are still not brought to the real issue of the problem. The productive power only manifests a capability unrealized, and which must depend for its realization on the concurrence of many contingencies. The physical, or rather physiological, demonstration is subject to the same important restriction. The historical demonstration is not, but gives rise to other considerations no less important.

The historical argument is, that "the advance of wealth acquires increased ascendancy over that of population." This evidence would be sufficient and conclusive if wealth consisted solely of the necessities of life, because then, if there was more than enough for the comfortable support of all, products would either be distributed in such a manner as to sustain all abundantly, or they would be unprofitably wasted. The argument would also be sufficient if the national wealth could always and in every case be converted into the subsistence of all the members of the community. These are questions, indeed, of distribution, rather than of production, as alleged by Prof. Rickards,* but they concern the practical solution of the problem, and both the amount and the advantages of production are largely dependent upon the mode in which products are distributed. The inference is also invalidated by the uncertainty of wealth, which does not merely "take wings unto itself and fly away" from the hands of improvident and unfortunate individuals, but is dissipated suddenly and imperceptibly by a thousand unheeded influences. Wealth, like other cardinal terms in Political Economy, has not yet received any settled meaning. The idea itself is vague, and the word by which it is expressed, is vague also. To regard wealth in its natural and primitive meaning as simply well-being, would afford too large a significance. In Political Economy it is usually employed to denote the aggregate of values of all sorts serviceable in production, or productive capital, whether actually engaged in production or not. This slippery term, value, which we had endeavored to exclude from consideration as long as possible, thus returns upon us in every attempt to ascend to fundamental principles, and is involved inextricably with any intelligent idea of capital. But value is the sore point and the weak point of Political Economy, though the

* Population and Capital, Sect. v., p. 111.

whole science turns on this pivot. Value is as fluctuating in its nature and aspects as in its meanings. It signifies a relation of quantity, sometimes of quality, between things exchangeable. But the quantity and quality may oscillate continually, and the intangible relation only remains permanent. Its concrete manifestations are as unsteady as water. In the ultimate analysis it will be found to be a pure metaphysical abstraction, dependant in all degrees of practical manifestation upon the wavering fancy of the public. There is nothing fixed, nothing certain, nothing durable in value, except its abstract, metaphysical, immaterial import. If the public debt of England amounts to four thousand millions of dollars, a rumor, a hoax, a deception of the telegraph, may cause a rise or a fall of the funds. If this reaches only one per cent. it is a gain or a loss for the time of forty millions of dollars, without the addition or the subtraction of any material thing whatever. Ground that now sells in Paris, London, or New York for five thousand dollars a foot, may be reduced by some sudden and unforeseen change to the price of five hundred. The scale of values fluctuates like a delicate barometer with every modification of the industrial atmosphere of society. It can, therefore, afford no permanent indication of the sufficiency of the subsistence for the population.

The Political Economists are indefatigable in warning us not to regard capital and money as identical, but they are continually falling into this error themselves in their statistical tables, and in the inferences drawn from them. The aggregate values of national production—the aggregate national capital—can furnish no reliable indication of either the well-being or the sufficient maintenance of the body of the people. Nor can this be obtained by the simple expedient of discarding the money values, and substituting as far as possible the enumeration of products, because these may be, and almost universally are, distributed in such a manner that large superfluities, to be wasted or unprofitably consumed, fall to the share of certain classes of the community, while a corresponding deficiency is the lot of the majority of the people.

Moreover, capital, (exclusive of land, which is distinguished from capital,) assumes many forms, and is divided into many species. It includes commodities of all sorts, permanent and transient investments, ventures by land and by sea, factories and machinery, tools, implements, and furniture, ships and railroads, luxuries and necessities. How small a portion of this variety is directly employed in subsistence, or immediately convertible into it! How large a portion is invested in such a form that a slight change in the condition of the society will diminish its productive value—a considerable change destroy

it altogether! A trifling improvement in the machinery for manufacturing cotton, or an increase in the manufacturing capital of the United States, might transfer the cotton manufacture from Europe to America. What then would be the value of the cotton factories of Great Britain? They would only represent lost capital. The change and the danger have already been apprehended by Lord Palmerston. The increase of machinery in any country augments its aggregate capital—its annual production—and the value of such production. Does it actually increase the subsistence of labor to the same extent? Is not its first tendency, and may not its ultimate tendency be, the refusal of support to thousands?

The relations of capital and labor, of population and subsistence, remain still unsettled, and are only obscured by the ingenuity and frequent sophistry of Professor Rickards. It may be that the only judicious course to be pursued is to prevent as far as possible the separation of capital and labor in the organization of society. Then, the amount of capital, the amount of subsistence, the amount of labor, and the number of population, will always adjust themselves in a healthy manner.

CONNECTION BETWEEN AMERICAN SLAVERY AND THE BRITISH COTTON MANUFACTURE.*

[As the drift of this paper has already been misconstrued in some quarters, one or two remarks, by way of preface and explanation, will not be out of place.

It is intended to be, what it ought to be, purely statistical. It is not intended to support, or to oppose, either slavery in general, or any particular form of it. Its sole purpose is to bring together, under one view, facts already well-established, to place them in logical sequence, and to state the conclusions to which, being so placed, they have conducted myself.]

After mature consideration, I educe from the materials before me, and which I am about to lay before you, the conclusions—

I. That, in the present state of the commercial relations of the two countries, the cotton planters of the United States are interested to the extent of about two-thirds of their exportable produce, in the maintenance of the cotton manufacture of the United Kingdom, and—

II. That, reciprocally, the cotton manufacturers of the United Kingdom, and, through them, the entire population of the Kingdom, are interested to the extent of about four-fifths of the raw material of that manufacture, in the existing arrangements for maintaining the cotton culture of the United States.

* This able paper was lately read by I. T. Danson, before the British Association, and a copy of it in manuscript furnished by our Minister, Mr. Dallas, at the request of J. F. H. Claiborne, of Mississippi. Mr. Claiborne forwarded it to that excellent Southern journal, the New Orleans Delta, from whose columns we are sure that our subscribers will thank us for transferring it entire. It is worthy of preservation by every planter.

These conclusions are based on the following propositions:

1. That cotton must be grown, almost entirely, out of Europe, and manufactured chiefly in Europe; and in Europe, chiefly in Great Britain.
2. That cotton has hitherto been grown, and, as far as yet appears, must continue to be grown chiefly by slave labor.
3. That for the last fifty years, Great Britain, seeking her supply of cotton all over the earth, with a preference, during a great part of that period, for the produce of free labor, has yet received, during the whole of that period, and continues to receive all the cotton she imports, of the better qualities, and by far the greater part of all she imports, in bulk as well as in value, from countries in which it is grown by slave labor.
4. That cotton is grown in the United States exclusively by slave labor.
5. That two-thirds at least of the slave population of the United States is employed in raising cotton for exportation.
6. That of the cotton thus raised for exportation about two-thirds in quantity, and more than two-thirds in value, is raised expressly for the British market, and is regularly imported into and manufactured in the United Kingdom.
7. That of the entire quantity of cotton imported into, and manufactured in, the United Kingdom, nearly four-fifths in quantity, and much more than four-fifths in value, is on an average of years obtained from the United States.

These propositions rest upon the following evidence:

FIRST PROPOSITION.—*That Cotton must be grown, almost entirely, out of Europe, and manufactured chiefly in Europe, and in Europe chiefly in Great Britain.*

COTTON; THE LOCALITIES OF ITS GROWTH AND MANUFACTURE.

The cotton plant appears to be indigenous between the tropics, wherever certain needful conditions of soil and climate are found. It flourishes best near the sea coast; and the best qualities can only be produced there. It cannot be grown, to any extent, within the limits of Europe.

Napoleon I. tried, in 1807, to grow it in France; but did not succeed. It has been grown in the south of Spain, and is grown in Italy, but only in quantities too small to be appreciable in commerce.

The raw material, then, must, for commercial purposes, be produced out of Europe. (1.)

But it cannot—with one exception, to be referred to presently—be manufactured, to meet the present demand, out of Eu-

(1.) The fact that the cultivation of cotton does form one of the industrial employments of the peasantry in several spots on the southern confines of Europe, combined with another fact, that in the assortment of cargoes for England, made up at some of the European ports on the Mediterranean, cotton, one of the articles most certain to find a ready sale in this country is, if found on the spot, very often included, and thence appears in the import accounts for the year published by the Board of Trade, might, to a superficial observer, seem to invalidate this conclusion. But the cotton thus shipped from European ports, even in the neighborhood of cotton plantations, is not often, or to any great extent, of European growth. We sometimes, under similar circumstances, receive cotton from French ports; and even from those of the North of Europe.

rope; for nowhere else are to be found the requisite appliances of capital and skilled labor.

In short, nowhere on earth does there co-exist, nor can we, under anything like existing circumstances, expect that there will co-exist, on or near the same spot, the means of both raising the raw material and converting it into manufactured goods.

The extent of the consumption of cotton goods in the world is, therefore, the measure of a commerce between Europe and other parts of the world, which must, with all its needful consequences, be maintained, so long as that consumption shall go on.

Now for the exception. It is formed by the existence of cotton factories in some of the States of the American Union. Nearly all these factories are in the States north of Virginia and east of the Ohio. More than one-third in value, of the goods produced are produced in Massachusetts alone; and the greater part of the rest in Rhode Island, New York, and Pennsylvania. They evidently derive no appreciable advantage from slave labor. Nor have they much advantage in the proximity of the raw material. The distance from Charleston, the nearest of the great cotton ports to Boston, by sea, cannot be taken at less than 1200 miles. The price of labor (wages) and the price of capital (interest) are both higher in these States than in Great Britain. Hence, it is apparent why these factories cannot compete with those of Britain, except in the supply of some coarse fabrics for American use—fabrics in which the freight of the raw material, as an element of cost, is at a maximum.

The following figures show the extent to which, notwithstanding these domestic manufactures, the people of the United States consume the cotton manufactures of Europe; and the very small extent to which, notwithstanding their commercial intercourse with every part of the world, they can dispose of their own cotton goods in foreign markets. (1.)

Imports of Cotton Manufactures into the United States.

Average annual value, in the four years 1848-'49-'50-'51:
\$19,964,702..... £3,992,940.

Exports of Cotton Manufactures from the United States.

Average annual value in the same four years:
\$5,656,740..... £1,131,348.

(1.) Revenue Tables. Supp. to Part XVIII, pp. 908-20.

The imports, it should be observed, were made in the face of heavy duties, intended to "protect" the native manufactures. Whence we may infer that, practicably speaking, the raw material must be raised out of Europe, and manufactured in Europe.

It remains to indicate the particular localities apparently most favorable to each process.

As to the raw material. Touching the capabilities, now or at any past time, of any given locality to supply cotton, I assume that we can have no fitter test than the extent to which that locality does supply, or has supplied it. Resources merely capable of development are not here in question. It is the past and the present, not the future—the actual, not the possible—with which we have here to deal.

Further, as the present paper has no direct reference to the sources of supply to which other manufacturing countries have had access, but only to those to which we, ourselves have had access, we may safely simplify the application of the test by applying it from the records of our own trade. Nor, as we have ever since the manufacture assumed any importance in Europe, not only been the largest consumers of the raw material, but also, the richest, the most active, and the most enterprising explorers of the districts in which alone it could be found, is it probable that thus to narrow the ground of investigation will to any material extent affect the result. The supply—if any such exist—not open to us is not likely to have yielded much to anybody. In 1787, there were imported into Great Britain 22,600,000 pounds of cotton, obtained from the following sources:

British West Indies.....	6,600,000	East India, procured from	
French & Spanish Colonies	6,000,000	Ostend.....	100,000
Dutch Colonies.....	1,700,000	Smyrna, or Turkey.....	5,700,000
Portuguese Colonies.....	2,500,000	None from the United States.	

In the three years 1824-'25-'26, we imported an annual average of 189,595,000 pounds; and this quantity was obtained from the following sources—the imports of the three years being reduced to a similar average for each country:

United States of America	121,318,000	Turkey and Egypt.....	12,229,000
Brazil.....	22,600,000	West Indies.....	6,408,000
East Indies.....	17,184,000	All other countries.....	10,000,000

It should be observed that the imports from Turkey and Egypt, during these three years, sustained a great, but only temporary increase.

In the three years, 1853-'54-'55, the total quantity imported reached an average of 891,454,000 pounds, obtained from the following sources:

The United States.....	687,410,000	East Indies.....	148,954,000
Brazil.....	22,824,000	West Indies.....	409,000
The Mediterranean.....	28,253,000	Other countries.....	3,802,000

Thus in 1787, we received no part of our annual supply from the United States. In 1824-'25-'26, we received thence 64 per cent. of all we imported, and in 1853-'54-'55 this proportion had risen to 77 per cent. Whence it may be fairly inferred, that the United States possess advantages in the culture and exportation of this article which place them, in this respect, far ahead of all their competitors.

As to the manufacture. It has long been, and still is, a prime object with each of the commercial nations of Europe, to supply itself from the raw material with this description of clothing. But the facilities they possess for doing this are by no means equal. Not one of them can do it with any degree of completeness, and some of them cannot do it at all, except by prohibiting the importation of foreign (chiefly British) cotton goods, or levying upon them heavy duties, to countervail the disadvantages under which the home manufacture is carried on. In these countries, however, dear home produce is yet very generally preferred to cheap foreign.

The only country in Europe which can, in any sense, be said to compete with our own in the supply of the extra European demand for cotton goods, is France. And when the character and extent of this branch of the French export trade is described it will be seen that our most formidable rival is not to be dreaded, though she undoubtedly offers us something to learn.

The year 1853 was a favorable one for the French trade. The French official accounts for that year show that the quantity of raw cotton imported and retained for home consumption was 7,091,000 kilogrammes, or about 165,000,000 pounds, valued at 125,000,000 of francs. The average quantity imported in the five years, 1848-52, had been about 132 millions of pounds. There was also cotton yarn imported for French consumption, in 1853, to the value of 1,400,000 francs; which was not far from double the quantity imported on an average of the five years 1848-52. Here, however, we observe a rate of progression, scarcely greater than might safely be referred to the increasing wants of the home consumers; while the increasing importation of yarn seems to indicate a failure of competitive power in the first process of the manufacture. Nor does an examination of the export trade lead to a different conclusion.

In 1853, the cotton manufactures of French production, exported from France, were valued at 71,900,000 francs, (£2,876,000.) This showed a slight but only a slight increase,

as compared with the average of 1848-52. The cotton yarn exported was valued at 866,000 francs, (£34,640.)

But before these figures are passed, as marking the extent of the export trade, there are one or two allowances to be made. The raw cotton was burdened with an import duty, and a bounty was allowed on the exportation of the manufactured goods. The precise effect of the counterpoise can only be estimated somewhat regularly.

The French tariff, in 1853, imposed five different rates of duty on raw cotton imported in French vessels, according to where it came from; and three other rates of duty, similarly distinguished, on cotton imported in foreign vessels. The duty most extensively operative—that on American cotton entering in French bottoms—was 20 francs per 100 kilogrammes, or about sixteen shillings per 220 pounds. And as the whole quantity imported, (75,091,000 kilogrammes,) yielded to the revenue 17,276,000 francs, giving an average of 22.23 francs per 100 kilogrammes, it is probable that by far the greater part of what was imported actually paid this rate of duty.

The bounty on exportation was 25 fs. per 100 kilogrammes of manufactures or yarn. It was allowed in 1853 on 7,117,864 kilogrammes of manufacture, and on 198,604 kilogrammes of yarn. This, with a moderate allowance for waste of the raw material, though called a bounty, could in effect have been little, if at all, more than a drawback of the import duty.

It would seem that the French exports in this kind are not more than a tenth in value of our own.

And where were they sent, and why? The largest customer for these French manufactures (taking two parts in seven of the whole value) was Algeria. But Algerian consumption may be deemed, practically, French consumption. The two customers next on the list, when arranged in order of magnitude, are the United States and the United Kingdom. These took, between them, two other seventh parts of the whole. And the goods sold in the English and American markets are well known to owe their peculiar value rather to the designer and the dyer than to the spinner and weaver. Their consumption does not admit of any very rapid or wide increase. French taste and French chemistry have deservedly won for French textile fabrics, wherever they are applicable, a superiority as well known as it is incontestible. But this has little effect in determining the locality of the cotton manufacture of the whole.

With a few trifling exceptions, of which cotton lace, imported from Belgium, is the only one worthy of notice, no cotton foreign manufactures were, in 1853, admitted to French consumption.

Whence the inference—not without consequence—that of all the nations of Europe, our own is, apart from all artificial restrictions, the best fitted for so carrying on the manufacture of cotton as to supply the world-wide use it has now attained; and that the freer the trade the more sure it is to fall into our hands; and the better, the cheaper, and the more abundant will be the supply to all.

SECOND PROPOSITION.—*That Cotton has hitherto been grown, and, as far as yet appears, must continue to be grown, chiefly by slave labor.*

The culture of cotton is, as has been stated, subject to certain natural conditions; and compliance with these, wherever such compliance is tolerably perfect, seems to exclude the employment of white laborers. As a rule, the colored laborers employed in the cotton-growing districts of the world, whence the European supply of cotton has hitherto been obtained, have been in a state of slavery, and are so still.

The statement (already given) of the sources of the British supply at the time when the manufacture of cotton was beginning to assume dimensions of national importance, shows that three-fourths of that supply was then obtained from the British, French, Spanish, Dutch, and Portuguese Colonies, in all of which agricultural labor was performed by slaves exclusively. The very small quantity then obtained from the East Indies, through Ostend, may be altogether disregarded. And the remainder—less than one-fourth of the whole—obtained from Smyrna or Turkey, can scarcely be set down as the fruit of free labor.

In 1824-'5-'6, the sources of supply were materially changed. But of the entire quantity then imported into Britain, the United States of America, Brazil, and the West Indies, all using only slave labor in the culture of cotton, supplied seventy-nine per cent. Six and a half per cent. came from Turkey and Egypt. Nine per cent. from the East Indies. And the remainder, from "all other countries," is about five per cent. of the whole.

In 1853-'4-'5, eighty per cent. of our supply came from the United States and Brazil alone, and was clearly the produce of slave labor. But little of the three per cent. obtained from the Mediterranean can be set down as probably raised by free labor. And nearly the whole of the remaining seventeen per cent. came from the East Indies.

In short, there is not, and never has been, any considerable source of supply for cotton, excepting the East Indies, which is not obviously and exclusively maintained by slave labor.

The value of the exception, as indicating a probability of our ultimately obtaining even the greater part of our cotton without the use of slave-labor, remains to be determined. Judging by what I have been able to learn of the facts, I deem its value but small. The condition of the Ryot does not appear to be such as to impart to his operations, either as a laborer for hire, or as an independent cotton grower, the productive advantages we are accustomed to associate with our idea of free labor. He seems to be, in point of fact, little better than a slave. The cotton of India does not hold a high rank in the European market, in point of quality. And the price at which it can be imported does not admit of its being brought into active competition in Europe with cotton of similar quality from the slave-holding countries of the West.

The personal inquiries of the late Mr. Mackay, who was, a few years ago, deputed by the Chambers of Commerce of Liverpool, Manchester, Blackburn, and Glasgow, to ascertain, in the cotton-growing districts of the United States and of India, whether the supply from India admitted of being increased in quantity or reduced in price, led, obviously, to a negative conclusion. He found that cotton from India entered the European market only as supplementary to the American supply; for that, taking quality and price into consideration, it could not be imported so cheaply; and was received, in any considerable quantity, only (1) when the American supply failed, or (2) when the demand for consumption increased, and, from one or both of these causes, the price rose materially above the average. These are facts quite as easily ascertained in the European market as in America or in India; and they have not been altered since Mr. Mackay made his report.

But that gentleman deemed it probable that the state of things which had already obtained for India cotton an occasional and temporary command of the European market would, at no distant date, become more permanent, and transfer, in great part, to the cotton-growers of India the lucrative office of sustaining the future growth of the British cotton manufacture. He maintained that the American planters could not go on increasing their supply, year by year, in proportion to a demand of so rapid growth as ours; and that as soon as this became apparent a permanent rise of price must take place sufficient to bring new and regular supplies into the market. And that as India had long supplied the occasional deficiencies of the American crop, she would then be enabled to compete, on at least equal terms, with America. But this conclusion avowedly rested upon two assumptions: (1) that the American supply had been increased mainly by continual resort to more fertile land, and (2) that this process was about

to be put an end to by the gradual exhaustion of the more fertile lands.

Now neither of these assumptions has yet been sustained by adequate proof. All analogy suggests that capital, and skill in cultivation have, in cotton-growing, as in all else, during the last fifty years, had a large share in increasing the production of American cotton. That skill in the selection of new soils has had a share in the same result, is equally probable. Of capital, and of skill in cultivation, there will probably be as much in the time to come as in time past. Whether the requisite soil will fall short is another question, and one not easily answered. We have abundant evidence that the relative productiveness of cotton plantations is dependent, in a great measure, upon various local circumstances; as elevation, temperature, moisture, nature of soil, and proximity to the sea; but we have no evidence whatever that the soil possessing the requisite qualifications, within the present or probable limits of the American Union, is all, or nearly all exhausted or occupied.

Nor does the relation between the American cotton crop and the British consumption of cotton, during the last twenty years, warrant the apprehension that the former cannot be increased so fast as the latter. The following is the British statement of the quantity of cotton imported into the United Kingdom during this period:

	Pounds.		Pounds.
1836	406,959,000	1846	467,856,000
1837	407,286,000	1847	474,707,000
1838	507,850,000	1848	713,020,000
1839	389,396,000	1849	755,469,000
1840	592,488,000	1850	663,576,000
1841	487,992,000	1851	757,379,000
1842	531,750,000	1852	929,782,000
1843	673,193,000	1853	895,278,000
1844	646,111,000	1854	887,333,000
1845	721,979,000	1855	891,752,000

And the American statements of the amount of the crops raised in the United States, in the corresponding twenty years, each year ending 31st August, is as follows:

	Bales.		Bales.
1836-7	1,422,000	1846-7	1,778,000
1837-8	1,801,000	1847-8	2,347,000
1838-9	1,360,000	1848-9	2,728,000
1839-40	2,177,000	1849-50	2,096,000
1840-1	1,634,000	1850-1	2,355,000
1841-2	1,683,000	1851-2	3,015,000
1842-3	2,378,000	1852-3	3,262,000
1843-4	2,030,000	1853-4	2,930,000
1844-5	2,394,000	1854-5	2,847,000
1845-6	2,100,000	1855-8	*3,527,000

* New York Shipping Commercial List, 17th September, 1856.

In the first of these tables the average of the first three years is to that of the last three years as 1527 to 3101; and in the second table the relation is as 440 to 891. Each is a little more than doubled. The American supply forms so large a proportion of all we import that fluctuations in one must be accompanied by something like corresponding changes in the other. But we have other sources of supply; and here we find that for twenty years the crop raised in the United States has grown steadily with our demand. The price also is lower and steadier now than it was twenty years ago. In October of each of the years referred to Bowed Georgia cotton was thus quoted in England:

	d.	d.		d.	d.
1835.....	9	to 11½	per lb.	1854.....	5½ to 6½ per lb.
1836.....	7½	to 11½	"	1855.....	5 to 6½ "
1837.....	5½	to 7½	"	1856.....	5 to 7½ "

It appears, then, that cotton has hitherto been grown, and, as far as yet appears, must continue to be grown, chiefly by slave labor.

THIRD PROPOSITION.—*That for the last fifty years, Great Britain, seeking her supply of cotton all over the earth, with a preference, during a great part of that period, for the produce of free labor, has yet received, during the whole of that period, and continues to receive, all the cotton she imports, of the better qualities, and by far the greater part of all she imports, in bulk as well as in value, from countries in which it is grown by slave labor.*

In the ten years 1801–10 the whole quantity of cotton-wool imported into the United Kingdom was, in round numbers, 592 millions of pounds. (a) In the same ten years we imported from the United States 263 millions of pounds; (b) or *forty-four per cent.* of the whole.

In the next ten years, 1811–20, our commerce with the United States was, for two years, stopped by war. We imported 1,004 millions of pounds; (c) and obtained 448 millions, or *nearly half* of it, from the United States. (d)

In 1821–30 the total importation was 2,008 millions; and the United States share of it was *seventy-one per cent.* (e)

In 1831–40 we imported in all, 3,873 millions of pounds; and took *seventy-nine per cent.* of it from the United States. (f)

(a) Marshall's Digest, 1833.

(b) Pitkin's Statistical View of the Commerce of the United States 1817.

(c) Marshall.

(d) Pitkin, Marshall, and the Revenue tables, 1820–33.

(e) Revenue tables, 1820–33.

(f) Revenue tables for the years in question.

In 1841-50 the whole quantity imported was 6,335 millions of pounds; and from the United States 4,985 millions or *seventy-eight per cent.* (a)

And in the five years 1851-55, when we imported 4,361 millions of pounds, we obtained 3,424 millions, or *seventy-eight per cent.* of it from the United States. (a)

During a great part of this period we gave a decided preference to the produce of free labor.

Until 1798 we levied no import duty on cotton. The duties then imposed were 12s. 6d. per 100 lbs. on Brazilian, 8s. 9d. on West Indian, 6s. 6d. on American, and 4 per cent. ad valorem on East Indian. At this time as well as afterwards the cotton of the East Indies was decidedly favored; and the cotton from that quarter has, during the whole period in view, formed by far the largest part of all that has been asserted to be raised by free labor.

In 1803 an uniform duty of 16s. 8d. per 100 lbs. was imposed on West Indian, American, and East Indian cotton; and 25s. on Brazilian.

These duties were but slightly altered down to 1815; when an uniform duty of 8s. 7d. per 100 lbs. was imposed on all these descriptions.

Some further changes, favorable to East Indian cotton, took place between 1815 and 1833, and the duties were then settled at 4d. per cwt. on cotton from British possessions and 2s. 11d. per cwt. on foreign. Excepting the general increase of 5 per cent. on nearly all customs duties, made in May 1840, these duties remained unchanged till they were all repealed in March, 1845.

From 1828 to 1845, then, the differential duty in favor of the cotton of East Indian growth was considerable. And though circumstances did not favor the maintenance of a heavy duty as a means of discouraging slave labor, there can be no reasonable doubt that the legislature, during that period, gave, and meant to give, some degree of encouragement to the growth of cotton in our own tropical possessions, and, therefore, by labor, either then free or intended shortly to be so.

That such encouragement did not prevent the planters of the United States and Brazil gradually increasing the proportion of our total supply received from them till it amounted to more than four-fifths, in quantity alone, the facts already stated amply prove.

And that the descriptions of cotton which bear the highest price in the market—which possess the greatest value in a given weight—are also supplied, almost exclusively by the

(a) Revenue tables, for the years in question.

United States, is a fact apparent on the face of every price-current in which cotton has a place.

FOURTH PROPOSITION.—*That Cotton is grown in the United States exclusively by slave labor.*

The chief cotton-growing States are South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Florida. These are all slaveholding States, and in 1850 contained 1,942,966 of the entire number of 3,204,313 slaves then within the Union.

There are three other States which grow cotton; but in less quantities. These are Virginia, North Carolina, and Arkansas. These contained, in 1850, 808,176 slaves.

Of the twenty-one other States, sixteen may be said to have been, 1850, non-slaveholding; no slaves being returned in fifteen of them, and in the remaining one (New Jersey) only 236. And the remaining five—Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, and Texas—together with the District of Columbia, and the Territory of Utah, contained the rest of the slave population: about 453,000 in number.

The chief cotton-growing States are also the chief slaveholding States. All the States in which cotton is grown as an article of commerce have a slave population so large in proportion to the whole as, practically, to exclude the white population from such labor in the field as is required in the culture of cotton. And though no evidence more direct and of a strictly statistical character can be offered of the fact, it hardly admits of reasonable doubt that this proposition is true, and that cotton is grown in the United States exclusively by slave labor.

FIFTH PROPOSITION.—*That two-thirds, at least, of the slave population of the United States is employed in raising Cotton for exportation.*

Of the proportion of the slave population employed in raising cotton or maintained, directly and indirectly, for the supply of the cotton demand for slave labor in the United States, we have no direct evidence. The circumstantial evidence which seems to me to support this proposition may be arranged under four heads:

I. The preëminence of the cotton culture among the industrial occupations of the slave States.

II. The increase of the slave population in relation to the increased production of cotton.

III. The distribution of the increase of the slave population with reference to the localities in which the cotton is grown.

IV. The relation between the quantity of cotton produced for exportation, and the number of slave laborers required to produce it.

I. With exceptions not worthy of notice, the entire slave population is found in the Southern States; and cotton is grown only in those States.

The industry of these States is almost wholly agricultural, and their exportable produce is all agricultural. Its three principal items are cotton, tobacco, and rice; and these include so large a share of the whole of the exportable produce of the Southern States that the remainder may for the present purpose be disregarded.

We have no means of distinguishing very precisely the value of the exports from the Southern States, in the general account of the exports of the country, as published by the United States Government. But the three articles, cotton, tobacco, and rice, are raised only in the Southern States, so are properly referred exclusively to them.

The rice exported from the Union in 1803, which was what might be termed an average year, was valued at \$2,455,000. (a) In the year ending June 30, 1851, the corresponding value was \$2,171,000. Here there was an increase of value.

Tobacco was, in the earlier years of the country, grown chiefly in two of the Southern States, Virginia and Maryland, and it is still grown almost wholly in that district of the Union. (d) And that the value of the exports has not increased greatly during the last half century, is apparent in a comparison of the value of those of 1803 with those of 1851; at the first period 6,209,000 dollars, and at the second 9,219,000 dollars. (c)

It is obvious, then, that the enormous additional supply of slave-labor raised within the Southern States during the last fifty years, has not found profitable employment in the production of either rice or tobacco.

The cotton exported from the United States in 1803, in which year the quantity was above an average of the years preceding and following, was forty-one millions of pounds. (c) In 1851, the corresponding quantity was 927 millions of pounds, or considerably more than twenty fold.

Finally, the cotton exported now forms, regularly, more than half in value of the entire exports of the United States.

(a) Pitkin, 119.

(c) Revenue tables, 1851.

(d) Kentucky and Tennessee, together have, of late years, produced about as much tobacco as Maryland and Virginia; and adjacent parts of North Carolina and Ohio also produce considerable quantities.

II. The increase of the slave population in the whole Union, is shown in the following figures:

Number of Slaves.

In 1800.....	893,041			
In 1810.....	1,191,364,	increase in 10 years,	34	per cent.
In 1820.....	1,538,064,	do do	29	do
In 1830.....	2,009,031,	do do	31	do
In 1840.....	2,487,355,	do do	24	do
In 1850.....	3,204,313,	do do	28	do

The increase in the seven States (South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, and Florida) which grow the most cotton, has been much more rapid:

Number of Slaves.

In 1800.....	222,628			
In 1810.....	397,866,	increase in 10 years,	78	per cent.
In 1820.....	631,995,	do do	58	do
In 1830.....	982,832,	do do	55	do
In 1840.....	1,433,953,	do do	46	do
In 1850.....	1,942,966,	do do	35	do

The United States abolished the slave trade simultaneously with ourselves, in 1807. But it is not improbable that, for the first ten years, (1800-'10,) some considerable addition was made to the slave population from this source.

The increase, during the same period, of the quantity of cotton grown in the United States, may be inferred from the following data:

On the 29th of February, 1836, the Hon. Levi Woodbury, Secretary of the Treasury, addressed to the Speaker of the House of Representatives a communication containing some elaborate "Tables and Notes on the Cultivation, Manufacture, and Foreign Trade of Cotton," and, from these, it appears that the quantity of cotton grown in the United States, according to the best available estimates, was:

In 1800.....	35	millions of pounds.
In 1810.....	85	do do
In 1820.....	160	do do
And in 1830.....	350	do do

For the subsequent decennial periods we have the current estimates of the crop published in the United States annually. According to these, the average of the crops of the three years 1838-9, (ending 31st August, 1839,) 1839-40 and 1840-41 was 1,724,000 bales; and the corresponding average for the three years 1848-9, 1849-50, and 1850-51 was 2,393,000 bales.

The weight of the bale of cotton as made up in the United States has been gradually increasing during the greater part of the fifty years in view, with the increasing facilities for close packing, and the inducement to economise freight by reducing a given weight to the smallest practicable bulk.

(See note on "The weight of the bale of cotton at various periods.") Assuming that the average weight of the bale, in the United States, was in 1840 about 380 pounds, and in 1850 about 450 pounds, the average crop may be taken

In 1840.....at.....	655 millions of pounds.
And in 1850.....at.....	1,077 " "

III. As has been stated, the principal cotton-growing States are seven in number. Five only of these States (South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi (a) were included in the Union in 1800, or therefore appeared in the census of that year. These then contained a total of 222,628 slaves. In 1850 there were in these five States 1,658,847 slaves. Adjoining these there were also, in 1850, the two other chief cotton-growing States, (Louisiana and Florida,) containing 284,119 slaves. Two other States growing cotton, but less exclusively so, (Virginia and North Carolina,) included in the Union in 1800, and containing, at that date, a slave population of 479,092, had, in 1850, one of 761,076. And Arkansas, a new State, falling into the same category, had, in 1850, a slave population of 47,100.

There were, in 1850, twenty-one other States in the Union. From the list of these, for a reason shortly to be stated, I exclude Kentucky. The remaining twenty had, in 1800, a slave population of 145,023; and in 1850 one of 238,477.

More clearly, the result may be stated thus:

The seven States in which the growth of cotton is, beyond all comparison, the principal occupation of the inhabitants, had, in 1800, only 222,628 slaves, and in 1850 they had 1,942,966, showing an addition of 1,720,338, or seven hundred and seventy-three per cent.

In three other States, also growing cotton largely, but less exclusively, there was an increase of 329,084, or sixty-eight per cent. in fifty years.

In the rest of the Union, excluding Kentucky, the number added was 93,454, or sixty-four per cent. in fifty years.

The whole increase of the slave population, in the fifty years, was from 893,041 to 3,204,313, an addition of 2,311,272, or two hundred and fifty-nine per cent. And as the United States abolished the slave trade simultaneously with ourselves, in 1807, and the census of 1810 shows an increase of only thirty-four per cent. in the preceding ten years, it is obvious that this large increase must have been derived, during the fifty years, almost entirely from an excess of births over deaths within the Union.

(a.) In the census of 1800, Alabama and Mississippi were returned together.

The amount of this excess may afford ground for suspecting that the physical condition of the slave population has not been, on the whole, so unhappy as it has sometimes been stated to be. This, however, forms no part of the present question.

It is apparent that the slave population, while increasing thus rapidly, has had its increase distributed mainly with reference to the production of cotton.

A similar process has been going on, during the same period, in Great Britain, with reference mainly to the manufacture of the same article. The general increase of the population of the Island, during the fifty years, has been about one hundred per cent. But upon an area of about 220,000 acres surrounding Manchester, the increase during the same period has been 235 per cent., and in Manchester and fifteen other towns, included in this area, the increase (of town population alone) has been three hundred and twenty per cent. (a)

Here we have brought to view, as sustaining, indirectly, both now and through the fifty years in view, the rapid extension of the cotton culture, the slave population of some of the States in which cotton is grown but little or not at all. During the whole of this period the slave population of the more northern slave-holding districts has been gradually diminishing. Manumission has done something, and migration southwards has done more, to effect this. Also, during the last thirty years slaves have been systematically reared in several of these States for transmission to those further south.

Kentucky appears to be the chief breeding State of the Union, and hence I have excluded it in particular from the list of those not taking a prominent part in the growth of cotton. Virginia and all the more northern of the slave States undoubtedly partook in this traffic. Of the slave population of Kentucky, which in 1800 was 40,343, and in 1850 was 210,981, a large proportion may be justly held to have been brought into existence, and to be maintained, with a view to the production of cotton. And some proportion of the slave population of several of the adjoining States might, no doubt, with propriety be added on the same score.

The precise extent of the internal migration thus indicated cannot be ascertained. We see, in gross, that of the entire addition made to the slave population in fifty years, (2,311,000,) 1,720,000, or more than three-fourths is, at the end of the period, found in the seven States distinguished for their production of cotton. And if we take the returns for each State con-

(a.) "On the area and population of the Manchester District," a paper in the 8th vol. of the transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire.

taining slaves in 1840, and compare them with the returns for 1850, we may infer very nearly the general direction, and nearly the amount of the recent migration into these cotton-growing States.

In 1840 the Union contained 2,487,355 slaves, and in 1850, 3,204,313. The increase, in ten years, was nearly 29 per cent. This, therefore, may be taken to be the average excess of births over deaths throughout the slave population for that period. It would be higher in the more northern and breeding States, and lower in those, especially the recently settled districts, in which the labor was most severe and continuous.

Had the seven chief cotton-growing States increased only at this rate the addition to their population during the ten years would have been about 415,847. The addition was, in fact, 509,013; and the excess, 93,166, is the lowest number that can be set down as that of the slaves transferred to these from other States in that interval. In fact, it is too low to accord with the most obvious inferences from the rate of mortality and the condition of the slave population, at the reproductive period of life, in the newer and cotton growing districts, as compared with the rate of mortality and the like condition in the rest of the Union, and more particularly in the districts whence this migration chiefly took place. As the natural increase arises entirely from excess of births over deaths, circumstances such as those known to prevail in the cotton growing States importing slaves, and tending powerfully to check the rearing of children, and to cut off the adult population at an early age, must be presumed, in the absence of direct evidence to the contrary, to reduce the rate of this increase in those States considerably below the average deduced from the increase of the whole slave population. On the other hand it is well known that, in what are termed the "breeding" States, peculiar efforts are made to promote the production and rearing of the children of the slave population. Now the increase of the population of England and Wales, by excess of births over deaths, between 1841 and 1851, allowing for emigration, cannot be taken at more than 15 per cent. We have seen that the average increase of the slave population of the United States, in the same interval, was 29 per cent. Assuming that the increase by excess of births over deaths, in the seven chief cotton growing States, was so much as 25 per cent., it would amount to 358,488, leaving an access of 150,525 to be accounted for by immigration.

The States supplying this migratory body—that is to say all the other States of the Union—had in 1840, a slave population of 1,053,000 and in 1850, one of 1,261,090. According to the census of 1840, about 15 per cent. of the slave population con-

sisted of males between ten and twenty-four years of age—the age at which the migration would be most likely to take place. Taking a mean between the numbers of 1840 and 1850 this class of the population supplying the emigrants would number about 172,500. If the females of the same age be added, the number would be nearly doubled; and it might be increased by allowing for the removal of some slaves southward at other ages. It is, however, obvious that a draft of 150,000 persons, in ten years, taken from the able-bodied section of a total population of 1,100,000 or 1,200,000 persons would be almost as much as such a population, even when endowed with the peculiar fecundity of the slave population of the United States, could sustain without impairing its reproductive power. And accordingly, while the seven principal cotton States show an increase of their slave population, between 1840 and 1850, of 35 per cent., the other slave States taken together, exhibit an increase of less than 20 per cent.

IV. In the "Tables and Notes" of Mr. Woodbury, already referred to, it is estimated that the culture of the cotton crop of the United States in 1835 gave employment to 340,000 "field hands" worth, on an average, 800 dollars each, and to as many "assistants" worth, on an average, \$400 each.

The crop of the year ending 31st August, 1835, was estimated at 1,254,000 bales, or, allowing 340 pounds to the bale, about 439 millions of pounds. As has been stated, the average crop in 1856 was about 1077 millions of pounds.

Adopting the proportion suggested by Mr. Woodbury's estimate for 1835, the number of field hands required in 1850, would be 834,000, and the number of assistants the same; making a total of 1,668,000 laborers.

It appears from the censuses of 1840 and 1850, that rather more than one-third of the slave population is under 10 years of age, and that about five hundred are over 55 years of age. Excluding only 6 per cent. more for sickness, and other causes, we have the following account as that of the slave population actually engaged in raising cotton in 1850:

Laborers.....	1,668,000
Infants (say).....	850,000
Aged.....	100,000
Sick, &c.....	150,000
	<hr/>
	2,768,000

Possibly Mr. Woodbury's estimate may have been excessive; or its application to the circumstances of 1850 may be, in some respects, improper. Hence the number above stated

may be in excess of the truth. On the other hand, however, it will be observed that no allowance is made for such portion of the slave population of the States as, though not engaged in, or even resident near the localities of the cotton culture, are, for the purpose of keeping up by migration the required supply of labor, maintained expressly for the support of that branch of the national industry.

We have now to ascertain how much of the whole crop thus raised is so raised for exportation. This may be readily deduced from the following figures extracted from the New York Shipping and Commercial List of 17th September, 1856:

Year ending August 31.	Annual Crop. Bales.	Retained for home Consumption—Bales.	
1851-2.....	3,015,029.....	603,029	"
1852-3.....	3,262,882.....	671,009	"
1853-4.....	2,930,027.....	610,571	"
1854-5.....	2,847,339.....	593,584	"
1855-6.....	3,527,845.....	652,739	"

It is to be observed that the portion of the crop retained for home use includes a very small proportion of the finer and more valuable qualities of cotton; and hence that the four-fifths of the crop here shown to have been left for exportation would probably include more than four-fifths in value.

And if, following this proposition, only 2,000,000 of the slave population be assigned to the culture for export, this will be equal to about two-thirds of the entire number.

The number thus set apart is a large one. But it will be remembered, apart from the direct estimate of numbers, that all that portion of the slave population which is maintained with a view to the cotton culture, whether engaged in it or not, must be deemed to fall into the category referred to in this fifth proposition. That of the entire produce of the United States raised for exportation, cotton forms more than half in value. (a)

That it is all planted, cultivated, picked, dressed, and packed for exportation by slave labor. That the natural increase of the slave population is obviously distributed with reference, almost exclusively, to the demand for labor in the cotton-growing districts. And that of the entire slave population of the Union, at the last census, 27 parts out of 32, or nearly nine-tenths, were found in the ten States growing cotton largely; and that 19 parts out of 32 were found in the seven States, the capital and labor of which are peculiarly devoted to that branch of industry.

(a.) In the year ending 30th June, 1851, the whole exports were valued at 196 millions of dollars—the cotton exported at 112 millions.

SIXTH PROPOSITION.—*That of the Cotton thus raised for exportation, about two-thirds in quantity, and more than two-thirds in value, is raised expressly for the British market, and is regularly imported into and manufactured in the United Kingdom.*

According to Pitkin's Analysis, before referred to, (a) it appears that the whole quantity of cotton exported from the United States, in the three years, 1801-'2-'3, was 89½ millions of pounds; and that the quantity sent to Great Britain, in the same period, was 70 millions of pounds. The "tables and notes" of Mr. Woodbury furnish very nearly the same figures. At this time, then, Great Britain took about two-thirds of the American exports.

For the years 1821-'2-'3, Mr. Woodbury states that the total exports amounted to 443,000,000 pounds; and that the quantity sent direct to Great Britain was 337,000,000, showing nearly the same proportion.

Accounts published by the Board of Trade (b) show that in the two years, (ending 30th June,) 1841-'2, the exports amounted to a total of 3,453,999 bales; and the quantity sent to the United Kingdom to 2,398,399 bales.

For recent years the proportion can be ascertained only by calculation. The quantity exported from the United States may be obtained with sufficient accuracy by deducting from the whole crop of each year the quantity retained for home consumption, and the quantity sent to this country may be inferred, with a similar approximation to accuracy, from the quantity imported into this country. It is, however, to be remembered that the American estimates of the annual crop have reference to a year ending on the 31st of August, before which time very little of the crop of the year referred to can have appeared at market, or, consequently, have been shipped to this country. Hence the American estimate, for any given year, has referred, almost entirely, to the cotton received in our ports in the year next following, and ending on the 31st of December.

The American estimates of the annual crop for the five years, beginning with 1849-50 and ending with 1853-4, give a total of 13,659,901 bales. (c) on the same authority, the quantity retained for home consumption, in the same period, was 2,776,486 bales. The remainder, 10,883,415 bales, would doubtless be somewhat in excess of the quantity actually exported.

(a) pp. 132-7.

(b) Revenue Tables, Foreign, 1844, p. 276

(c) New York List, 17th Sept., 1856.

But allowing 5 per cent. for what may be used in the States otherwise than for manufacture, for waste and for loss; and allowing an average weight of 450 pounds to the bale, the whole quantity exported from the crops of the five years referred to would be about 4,652 millions of pounds.

The five years in which our share of this quantity must have entered the ports of the United Kingdom were those beginning with 1851, and ending with 1855. In these years we received from the United States a total of 3,424 millions of pounds. (a) So that the share we have taken of the cotton exported from the United States would appear to have varied but little, throughout the whole period of fifty-five years; and to have been all through about two-thirds, as stated in the proposition.

SEVENTH PROPOSITION.—That of the entire quantity of Cotton imported into, and manufactured in, the United Kingdom, nearly four-fifths in quantity, and much more than four-fifths in value, is, on an average of years, obtained from the United States.

In a table appended to this paper will be found stated the quantity of cotton imported into the United Kingdom in each year from 1801 to 1855, inclusive; and the proportion of each year's importation received from the United States. From this table it appears that

In the first ten years of the present century (1801–10) the supply from the United States amounted to *forty-four* parts in a hundred of all imported.

In the second ten years (1811–20) it was *fifty* parts in a hundred.

In the third ten years (1821–30) it was *seventy-one* parts.

In the fourth ten years (1831–40) it was *seventy-nine* parts.

In the fifth ten years (1841–50) it was *eighty-one* parts.

And in the five years which have elapsed since the close of the last period (1851–55) it was *seventy-eight* parts.

Again; if we limit our view to the last twenty years, (1836–55,) and divide these into four periods of five years each, we find that we obtained from the United States, of the total quantity we imported,

In 1836–40, eighty per cent.

In 1841–45, eighty-one per cent.

In 1846–50, eighty-one per cent.

In 1851–55, seventy-eight per cent.

And again, if we take the production, year by year, for the last ten years, it stands thus :

(a) Statistical Abstract 1841 to 1855.

1846.....	88 per cent.	1851.....	78 per cent.
1847.....	76 "	1852.....	82 "
1848.....	84 "	1853.....	73 "
1849.....	83 "	1854.....	81 "
1850.....	74 "	1855.....	76 "

Whence, and bearing in mind that the supply from the United States includes all the more valuable descriptions of cotton, I venture to affirm that we cannot safely estimate the average extent of our reliance upon the United States for a supply of cotton at less than about eighty per cent., or four-fifths of the entire quantity we import.

THE WEIGHT OF THE BALE OF COTTON AT VARIOUS PERIODS.

In 1810 the average weight of the bales of cotton exported from the United States was about 300 pounds, and those imported into England from Portugal and the Portuguese colonies, our next largest source of supply at the same time, were said not to exceed an average of 110 pounds. (1.)

In 1853 Mr. Joshua Bates (of the firm of Baring Bros. & Co.) being examined before a Committee of the House of Commons, handed in some tabular statements, whence it may be inferred that the average weight of the American bale of cotton remained, from 1794 to 1832, nearly the same, or about 300 pounds. (2.) From a comparison of various other accounts, and particularly from the data supplied by the letter of 29th February, 1836, from the American Secretary to the Treasury to the Speaker of the House of Representatives; it may, however, reasonably be inferred that the average weight in the latter years of this period was nearer 350 pounds.

In December, 1843, Messrs. Geo. Holt & Co., eminent cotton brokers, of Liverpool, estimated the average weight of the bales imported from different countries into Liverpool, in that year, as follows: (3.)

United States—Upland and Sea Island.....	350 pounds.
Orleans and Alabama.....	430 "
Brazil.....	182 "
Egyptian.....	207 "
East Indian.....	378 "
West Indian.....	165 "

Allowing for the large proportion of the whole quantity imported from the United States, it is probable that the general average was not less than 400 pounds; and that the average weight of the bale from the United States a little exceeded that limit.

(1) Pitkin's Statistical View of the Commerce of the United States, 2d Ed., 1817, p. 135.

(2) Report from Committee on Manufactures, Commerce, and Shipping, No. 690, of 1833.

(3) McCulloch's Directory of Commerce, art. Cotton.

An estimate made in Liverpool at my own instance upon the experience of 1855, gave the following result:

Average weight per bale.

From the United States.....	450 lbs.	From Calcutta.....	300 lbs.
" Brazil.....	200 "	" Egypt.....	280 "
" Madras and Bombay	420 "		

The increased weight appears to have been due to increased pressure in packing, to save freight—that element of cost being much dependent on the space occupied by a given weight.

So much for the weight of the bale of cotton, as seen in Great Britain. As seen in the cotton manufacturing districts of America, the modes of conveyance from the cotton growing districts not being precisely the same, the bale may possibly have a different weight. But in the absence of evidence on this point, it may be assumed that the bale alluded to in the American accounts of the quantity retained for home consumption has an average weight of 450 pounds.

British Imports of Cotton Wool—1800 to 1855.

Years.	Cotton Wool Imported.		Years.	Cotton Wool Imported.	
	From all Countries. Thousands of Pounds.	From the U. States. Thousands of Pounds.		From all Countries. Thousands of Pounds.	From the U. States. Thousands of Pounds.
1801.....	55,675	18,953	1829.....	222,767	157,187
1802.....	60,239	23,473	1830.....	263,961	210,885
1803.....	53,427	27,757	1831.....	288,674	219,333
1804.....	61,316	25,770	1832.....	286,832	219,756
1805.....	59,649	32,661	1833.....	303,656	237,506
1806.....	57,982	24,255	1834.....	306,875	269,203
1807.....	74,786	53,180	1835.....	263,702	284,455
1808.....	43,263	7,992	1836.....	406,959	289,615
1809.....	91,701	13,365	1837.....	407,286	320,651
1810.....	134,805	86,171	1838.....	507,850	431,437
1811.....	91,098	46,772	1839.....	389,396	311,597
1812.....	61,563	26,086	1840.....	592,488	487,856
1813.....	—	—	1841.....	487,992	358,240
1814.....	58,887	—	1842.....	531,750	414,030
1815.....	98,790	45,669	1843.....	673,193	574,738
1816.....	93,685	57,793	1844.....	646,111	517,218
1817.....	124,303	52,668	1845.....	721,979	626,650
1818.....	177,178	65,985	1846.....	467,856	401,949
1819.....	148,303	63,675	1847.....	474,707	364,599
1820.....	149,462	89,999	1848.....	713,020	600,247
1821.....	132,536	93,470	1849.....	755,469	634,504
1822.....	142,837	101,031	1850.....	663,576	493,153
1823.....	191,402	142,532	1851.....	757,379	596,638
1824.....	149,380	92,187	1852.....	929,782	765,630
1825.....	228,065	139,908	1853.....	895,278	658,451
1826.....	177,607	130,858	1854.....	887,333	722,151
1827.....	272,448	216,924	1855.....	891,752	681,929
1828.....	227,760	151,752			

NOTE TO TABLE.—The figures in the first column of this table are obtained (for the years 1801 to 1819 inclusive) from Marshall's Digest, printed at the recommendation of the House of Commons in 1833; for the years 1820-'33, from

the Revenue Tables, 1820-'33, p. 125; for 1834-'40, from the Revenue Tables, 1831-'40, p. 115; and for the years 1841-'55, from the Statistical abstract, 1841-'55, printed in 1856. The figures in the second column are obtained from Pitkin's Statistical View of the Commerce of the United States, 2d Ed., 1817, down to 1816; for the years 1817-'18-'19, they are deduced from an account in Marshall's Digest, p. 113, allowing 300 pounds to the bale, and thereafter from the Revenue Tables.

OUR ISLAND NEIGHBORS.

SANDWICH ISLANDS—CLIMATE—POPULATION—GOVERNMENT—PRODUCTIONS—COMMERCE—RECIPROCITY TREATY WITH THE UNITED STATES.

Situated just within the northern tropic and range of the northeast trade wind, with a temperature seldom falling below 70°, (at moderate elevations,) or rising above 84°, the climate of the Hawaiian Islands has a power of fascination for the sojourner, unsurpassed by that of any other in the world. A large proportion of foreigners who, in years past, have sought a temporary residence at the islands, in the pursuit of wealth, business, or pleasure, spell bound by the climate, have become domiciliated for life. Within ten days sail, in the track of the trade winds, from the Pacific coast, exempt from malarious and other tropical diseases so prejudicial to the constitutions of immigrants from northern or southern latitudes, the Hawaiian Archipelago, with its genial climate and captivating scenery, is the most desirable watering place in the north Pacific, and has become the favorite resort of the invalid emigrant to the Pacific States and Territories of the United States.

Capt. Cook's estimate of the population in 1778, at 400,000, has been thought by more recent visitors too high. That the Islands, however, contained, at some former period of their history, a more dense population than that described by Cook even, there are existing visible indications, which place the question beyond reasonable doubt.* If, as some ethnologists assert, there is a tendency in races to ultimate extinction, without the occasional renovation of the original stock by the admixture of other families, this cause of depopulation may have been in operation in the Hawaiian Islands (as well as in Polynesia generally) many centuries before their contact with modern civilization. And it may not be unreasonable to sup-

* On the island of Kanai there is a belt of land near the seaboard some twenty miles in extent, and one or two in breadth, covered to the depth of two or more feet (if equally distributed) with broken fragments of basaltic rock, or boulders, which have been piled up, in irregular pyramids, or walls, forming small enclosures, with no other purpose, apparently, than to redeem a few feet of land between their bases for cultivation; whilst adjacent, and inland, there are thousands of acres of unoccupied lands verdant with grapes, but without any other natural obstructions to their tillage. This topographical feature is common to the islands.

pose, commerce (which has been, perhaps, too hastily styled the grave of the Hawaiians*) to be one of the instrumentalities, by which Providence designs to substitute more vigorous races for those which have lapsed too far in their downward proclivities to be capable of renovation. And this opinion finds some justification in the results of the philanthropic efforts, which, for the last twenty years, have been prosecuted with so much ardor in the Hawaiian group.

Under the teachings of the missionaries, the Hawaiians have made striking advances, so far, at least, as respects the externals of christianity and civilization; but whether they have imbibed any self-sustaining elements of progress, seems more questionable. The Hawaiians are a highly imitative people, exhibiting as much aptness for simulating the virtues, as they do for adopting the vices of the whites—as to the extent and *depth* of the moral, social, and religious reformation, with which they have been credited by the christian world abroad, there is a diversity of opinion here. However this may be, one of the leading objects, to which, for many years, the efforts of the missionaries were directed—the perpetuation of the native race—has been, without a dissenting voice, abandoned. Within the last decade, the native population has been more than decimated, whilst the foreign population has been more than doubled—the latter may be estimated at 4,000. This rapid depopulation of the islands has become a serious question with the king (a man of uncommon understanding and sagacity) and his counsellors, as it concerns the race and present dynasty, and with all practical business men, as it respects the future of the country—labor and population lying at the foundation of national wealth and progress. The natives, naturally indolent, regard labor as one of the greatest evils of life, and manifest but few incentives to industry beyond those which are compulsory. They are stimulated to some degree by their artificial wants, as well as absolute necessities; but the spirit of acquisition, and a provident regard for their offspring, have not, to any extent, been exhibited amongst the masses. As compared with capital, labor is at present abundant. During the prevalence of the gold fever, in 1849, (from which the Hawaiian Islands even did not escape,) there was a temporary scarcity, which prompted the attempt, on the part of the planters, to seek a substitute in

* Assuming the population in 1778 to be 300,000, (which is 100,000 less than Cook's estimate,) and the census of 1823, which gave 150,000, to be correct, one-half the population must have perished within a period of forty-five years. The present population is estimated at 70,000, showing a loss of more than one-half during the next succeeding period of thirty-three years. For no other race has commerce dug so many graves in the same period of time.

the labor of Chinese coolies; three or four hundred were introduced, at a cost of importation of \$60 per man, under a contract for five years service, at \$3 per month wages, and board. Although the cost was found to be a trifle less than that of native labor, (about \$60 per annum per man,) after a fair trial, the latter, with all its drawbacks, is much preferred. The Chinese are found to be a more ingenious and industrious race than the natives; and, in this climate, they do not lack power of endurance; but they are a vicious people, and the Hawaiian laws lack the necessary degree of stringency to preserve a proper degree of subordination and rectitude of these celestials.

The question of labor is one which has deeply engaged the attention of the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society,* and the following remarks from the chairman of its committee on Labor, at its session in Honolulu in 1855, though deviating widely from our accustomed train of thought, have, at least, the merit of plausibility:

"In this place, I cannot but reclaim from the abuse, which modern philosophizing and theorizing has heaped upon it, an institution of by-gone ages—I mean feudalism. Feudalism fixed the tenant to the soil, by obliging him to yield a portion of its products to the landlord; attaching it to his family by descent, it prevented him from squandering it. It was the best stepping-stone from barbarism to the free institutions of civilization. It was oppressive, tyrannical—no doubt; and, yet, it contained the germ of a better state of things. You have abolished it at once—raised the enslaved and oppressed people, at once, to the full enjoyment (?) of liberty and self government."

Although the inference intended may conflict with the preconceived ideas of such as have received their education in the United States, the justice of its application to Hawaiians has not been controverted. The Hawaiian Government was formerly an absolute despotism, resembling in some of its features, the feudalism of the dark ages. The chiefs were nominally dependent upon the king for the tenure of their lands. The common people were serfs, without rights in the soil, or in the productions of their own lands. It required much and long persuasion to induce the king and chiefs to emancipate their people from serfdom, and to give them a

* The Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society, established at Honolulu in 1850, and numbering about two hundred members, has issued its sixth annual report, which, with the proceedings, forms an octavo volume of 784 pages. It holds an annual Fair at Honolulu, and distributes \$1,000 annually in premiums, receiving for this object a yearly donation of \$500 from Government.

constitution with the right of self-government. After thirty years trial, it has now become a question whether ameliorations of the old feudal systems would not have been better adapted to the wants of Hawaiians, than the substitution of the free institutions of civilized States. An illusion of the day—on this meridian, near, if not past its culmination—seems to be an undue estimate of the capabilities of humanity of every grade, of attaining, under modern instrumentalities, to an equal degree of material, moral, and social elevation. As a means of civilization, by some, and as the one only measure of human destiny and rule of human duty, by others, the unqualified and universal application of the American declaration, "all men are born free and equal," may have been too much insisted on, and is quite in keeping with the spirit of the age of wonders, in which the votaries of Mammon seek the agency of steam and electric elements as a means of compassing an end in the shortest space of time; that philanthropists of the fast order, each in his own way, should attempt, within the brief period allotted to a single generation, that material, moral, and political renovation of inferior races, which, amongst nations distinguished above all others in point of natural endowments, has been (under that same Providence to which they are wont to appeal) the work of many centuries.

With this digression, it is but just to the Hawaiians to state, that it is a redeeming trait in their character, and one which distinguishes them from most other barbarians, that under a sense of their own weakness, and desire, apparently, for improvement, they are disposed to be guided by the counsels of their superiors. Accordingly, they have admitted the introduction into the several departments of Government of a due proportion of the white element, which is likely to exert a healthy controlling influence. It is honorable to the late king, that the surrender of his prerogatives was entirely voluntary, made without demand or solicitation even on the part of his people. In the language of the present chief ruler, "he gave, both of his prerogatives and of his patrimony, till he had nothing left to give." The civil and penal codes of law are copied, with some modifications, from those of the United States. In the absence of statutes, the common law of England is made the rule. The judiciary is independent of both the executive and legislative departments. The Hawaiian judiciary has acquired a distinction for its able and impartial administration of justice, which would be honorable to that of any State in the American Union.

It has been found, however, no easy matter to frame a liberal government and code of laws, adapted at the same time to

the wants of civilized and semi-civilized communities dwelling together, alike distinguished, the one for its progressive, and the other for its retrograde tendencies. Much, however, is due to the naturally inoffensive natures and child-like docility of the Hawaiians, and to their disposition to be guided, that they have fallen into none of those excesses which are so frequently exhibited by badly ruled communities suddenly emerging from thralldom to liberty. And when it is considered that the native population is fast wasting away, to be succeeded by a superior race already in the ascendancy, it may be found that the transition of the Hawaiian kingdom, from an absolute to a free form of government, has not been premature. "Thus Providence shapes our ends, rough hew them as we may."

That the Hawaiian Islands are destined to become the "West Indies of the Pacific," or garden of the world, as they have sometimes been called, savors more of rhetorical flourish than of sober fact. The total area of the eight inhabited islands is, according to official accounts, 6,090 square miles, or 3,897,600 acres—a trifle less than that of the island of Jamaica. One-eighth of the entire area, or in round numbers 500,000 acres, it has been estimated is suitable for tillage, and 2,000,000 suitable for pasturage. As a grazing country, the islands compare favorably with the best grazing countries in the world; and stock-growing has been, for many years, a favorite pursuit both of natives and foreigners. The total amount of stock was estimated, in 1851, as follows:

Cattle, 40,700; horses, 11,700; sheep, 10,200. The latter are valuable chiefly for the carcass. The annual increase of cattle is found to be 30 per cent.; the yearly consumption, about 3,000 head; net annual increase, 9,000. On the Island of Kanai the average price of full-grown beeves (wild) is \$5 per head. This island has become overstocked with cattle, and they are now being slaughtered for their hides and tallow. The original stock of cattle and horses was derived from the Spanish Main. The English Devons, Hereford, and Durham cattle, and South Down sheep, are amongst the improved breeds recently introduced from the United States.

The adaptability of the soil and climate of the islands to the growth of the leading staples, and of many of the fruits of the tropics, has been successfully tested. Many of the fruits, and most of the esculent vegetables, with the cereals, have been introduced from the temperate latitudes, and thrive well. On the high table lands fields of wheat may be seen, growing side by side with those of sugar cane, yielding, the former twenty bushels, and the latter, in some cases, four thousand

pounds per acre.* Sugar, coffee, and tobacco† are the only tropical staples whose culture has yet been attempted with a view to export the latter, owing to want of skill in the process of curing, not very successfully. The growth of wheat has been prosecuted, with some success, on the high table lands of Wouli, for the last three years. The annual crop is about 20,000 bushels. A steam flour-mill was erected in Honolulu in 1854; it has not been very productive property, but as existing restrictions upon an interchange of island produce with that of other countries will create a necessity for the growth of such articles as may be required for home consumption, though produced under the disadvantage of a want of perfect adaptability of soil and climate, the growth and manufacture of flour may ultimately succeed. The cotton of the islands is the product of a perennial shrub, growing wild, and producing two, three, or four crops of balls a year; samples, which have been exhibited at the fair, are said to compare favorably with that of the Southern States. Hawaiian coffee is believed to be second to none (unless the Mocha) in the world; owing to the force of the trade winds, it can be grown only in sheltered localities. There are two coffee estates on the Island of Kanai, investment in each about \$30,000. On Hawaii, where the best coffee is grown, there are several estates in successful operation, and others being commenced. The present annual product is three or four hundred thousand pounds, with the prospect of a yearly increase.

The better quality of island sugar, (with the exception of New Orleans, to which it is scarcely inferior,) has the preference over all other raw sugars which find their way to the California markets. Of the 500,000 acres of tillage land, 50,000 acres is a high estimate of the amount desirable for the culture of cane; and if there be taken into account the absence of roads through volcanic mountainous districts, and the want of harbors accessible to sailing vessels, the total amount of sugar lands immediately available will not exceed 25,000 acres. Lands, which will not yield for a series of years about one ton per acre, without manure, are not regarded as sugar lands, as their culture has not been found to be remunerative.

* A field of fifteen acres of cane, at an elevation of eighteen hundred feet, yielded, the present season, thirty-nine (39) tons of sugar and forty-five hundred gallons of molasses.

† Amongst the indigenous productions found on the islands by Cook, in 1778, are kalo, (*arum esculentum*, the staple food of the natives,) plantains, (bananas,) sweet potatoes, bread-fruit, yams, tiroot, (saccharine, about the size of the yam,) ara, (a narcotic stimulant supposed to possess extraordinary medical virtues,) sugar cane, arrow-root, cocoa-nut, gourds, fowls, dogs, and hogs, (the latter Malay, nearly supplanted by improved breeds.) Oranges and grapes were introduced by Vancouver, in 1798, and are abundant. For a list of naturalized trees and plants, see DeBow's Review, February, 1855.

The first sugar plantation was established at Koloa, Island of Kanai, in 1835. After an investment of some \$80,000, the proprietors failed, and the property changed hands; present valuation, \$100,000. It employs one hundred native and twenty Chinese field laborers, and produces about two hundred tons of sugar per annum; with proper machinery it is capable of yielding five hundred. On the same island, at Lihue, a plantation on a similar scale was commenced in 1850, with an invested capital of \$96,000; unfortunately it was located in a district exposed to droughts, and has not yet been remunerative. The proprietors have had recourse, within the last year, to irrigation, at a further outlay of some \$7,000, but it may ultimately succeed. The motive power on these two estates is water; on the last named steam is employed as an auxiliary. On the Island of Mario there are two sugar mills, worked by mule power; each plantation has about 1,200 acres of cane and pasture land, with an invested capital of \$50,000, and employing a field gang of forty to fifty natives, produces per average one hundred and fifty tons. The above four estates are all owned by Americans, and with the exception of one or two small establishments on the Island of Hawaii, conducted by Chinese, comprise the present entire sugar interest of the islands. Within the period above referred to, some eight or ten small estates have been commenced and prosecuted for a few years by men without much capital, all of whom, for want of means, have been obliged to suspend their operations. A large majority of the foreigners upon the islands have sought a residence here to engage in trade, and for years past all other interests seem to have been merged in the spirit of traffic; and the present high rate of interest, and a general indisposition to direct a floating capital from its accustomed and hitherto profitable channels of trade, will, for years to come, be unfavorable to any rapid development of the agricultural resources of the country.

The sugar cane grows naturally throughout the group at various elevations, from the level of the sea to an altitude of 4,000 feet. Below the elevation of 1,700 feet the cane is eight to seventeen months, according to the time of planting, in arriving at maturity; it arrows, (if not less than seven or eight months old,) about the 20th of November; planted at any time after the 1st of June, it fails to develop the arrow at the usual ensuing season, and a growth of seventeen months may be thereby secured from the first planting. Above the altitude of seventeen hundred feet it seldom arrows, and is twenty to thirty, and sometimes thirty-six months, according to elevation, in maturing; but as a compensation for its slow growth, it may be planted every month in the year, and the crop, re-

maining on the ground seven or eight months after its maturity, does not materially deteriorate. Another advantage is found in the superior quality of the cane juice, in respect both to its density (11° to 13° Beaume,) and also to its purity, owing to the harder and more fibrous nature of the canes, which give out less of their foreign matters, when submitted to pressure, as indicated by a large per centage of sugar, as well as by its superior quality. The bagasse is found to be useful for purposes of fuel.

There are several varieties of canes found at the islands; those most cultivated are the yellow, (or Tahitian,) the red or purple, and the green and purple ribbon; the latter is a rich, hardy cane, and succeeds best on the high lands; the largest yield per acre has been obtained from the table lands of Woui, elevation 1,800 feet. The following is a record of the thermometer at this elevation on one of the plantations above referred to for the year 1854, giving the average range of each month:

	Sunrise.	Noon.	Minimum.	Maximum.
January.....	64.61	70.51	56	76
February.....	57.39	68.14	53	70
March.....	61.49	72.29	58	77
April.....	63.00	76.06	60	82
May.....	61.19	75.48	60	82
June.....	63.70	76.96	62	82
July.....	66.32	78.93	64	84
August.....	64.61	79.61	62	84
September.....	65.03	80.66	64	85
October.....	64.71	79.16	62	81
November.....	61.66	76.56	61	78
December.....	59.77	76.61	58	78

The only available outlets for the surplus produce of the islands are California, Oregon, and Vancouver's Island; at the last named place the English Hudson Bay Company have commenced a colony. This Company have for many years had a depot and agency at Honolulu; its officers have long kept a watchful eye upon the Hawaiian Archipelago, and will not regard with favor the formation of any closer commercial ties between the Hawaiian Islands and the Pacific States and Territories of the United States. California and Oregon, lying within thirty-five to forty days sail of China and Manilla, have, for the last six years, been supplied with the cheap raw and clayed sugars of those countries at rates with which island sugars have, with difficulty, competed.* The importations of *raro*

* The usual price of China and Manilla raw and clayed sugars, at the place of production, is three to four cents; the price current of Hawaiian sugar is regulated by the demand for home use, which, in the Honolulu market, is six to eight cents, and this has generally been assumed at the San Francisco Custom-house as the true dutiable valuation, which, at thirty per cent. ad valorem,

sugars into California, via Cape Horn, have been too insignificant to make any impression upon her markets, or to effect, in any degree, the price of China, Manilla, and Batavian sugars, which have always controlled the current rates; and although she now receives the bulk of her refined sugars from the Atlantic States, it is probable, that with a sugar refinery at San Francisco, she will derive the bulk of her raw sugars for refining purposes, as she now does for immediate consumption, from Eastern Asia.

Subsequent to their discovery, and during the early part of the present century, the chief source of revenue to the Hawaiian Islands was the sandal wood trade. In 1826 American merchants, trading in this commodity, between Honolulu and Canton, claimed of the island Government an unliquidated balance of \$700,000, which was compromised at \$500,000, and paid in sandal wood. This source of wealth was exhausted many years ago, and for thirty years past the main dependence of the islands for revenue has been the American whaling fleet. According to a report in Hunt's Merchant's Magazine, the whole number of American ships engaged in the whale fishery is 605, of this number not less than 300 occupy the extensive whaling ground of North Pacific, touching semi-annually at the islands for supplies, the only convenient recruiting ground and resting place between seasons for 12,000 American seamen. This feature of island commerce will explain the apparent commercial paradox of an importation of foreign merchandise exceeding \$1,000,000 in value, against an export of foreign and domestic produce of less than \$300,000.

Although the agricultural resources of the islands have frequently been referred to in terms of exaggeration, their importance as a commercial depot and connecting link in the trade, present and prospective, between Western America and Eastern Asia, has not been overrated. In latitude about 21° north, and longitude 158° west, they lie almost directly in the track of commerce between the ports of Australia, the

gives an advantage of one cent per pound to the Manilla article over the Hawaiian. Two causes contribute to the comparatively low price of the former. First, and chiefly, the comparatively low price of labor in those densely populated countries; secondly, the discount upon the gold and silver currency of Europe and the United States, when reduced to the Chinese standard. In 1850 and 1851 the heavy importations of Manilla sugars came near putting an end to its growth in this country; during those years all the small estates were abandoned. In 1852 the Hawaiian Government imposed a protective duty of two cents per pound upon the sugars of those countries not in treaty with this—meaning China and the Philippine Islands; this secured to the planters the home market; as the present product, however, already exceeds the home demand, there can be no inducement for any further extension of its growth until an outlet is secured for the surplus produce, either by treaty with, or annexation to the United States.

Russian and English settlements on the northwest coast, the Pacific States and Territories of the United States, China, and the East Indies. The whole number of vessels touching at the islands in 1853 was 743.

According to a statement of Nicolay, before the British Association for the advancement of Science, their distance is—

From San Francisco.....	2,083 miles.
“ Vancouver’s Island.....	2,293 “
“ Calao.....	5,060 “
“ Valparaiso.....	5,905 “
“ Japan.....	3,853 “
“ Chusan.....	5,301 “
“ Singapore.....	5,832 “
“ Sydney.....	3,500 “
“ Auckland.....	3,817 “
“ Petroperslaska.....	“
“ Sitka.....	“

In respect to the principal maritime nations, the balance of power in the North Pacific is a question which has of late years invited attention to the Hawaiian Archipelago. It has not inaptly been designated as the Gibraltar of the North Pacific, as it would be, in fact, in the possession of either of the great maritime powers. France has evinced no little chagrin at the blunder committed by one of her admirals, in seizing upon the Tahitian instead of the Hawaiian group in 1839. A hostile attempt upon the latter, in the same year, miscarried. The error was not discovered till too late for correction. She has since attempted, by various expedients, through the agency of her naval commanders, her clergy, and her diplomacy, to gain a foothold here; and, it is presumed, that her reluctance to jeopardize her friendly relations with England and the United States, has alone prevented the accomplishment of her object by force. Hawaii has always looked to the United States as her natural guardian and protector; and the late king gave no trifling proof of his confidence, when, menaced with hostilities by the French in 1851, he laid his islands at the feet of the American Secretary of State, (the late Daniel Webster,) who saw fit to reject the overture. Although recognized as an independent State, no one believes that the sovereignty of the islands can be long maintained under the native regime. The time is not very remote when the Anglo-Saxons will occupy the places of the Aborigines; and, in respect to the question of a foreign jurisdiction, the future destiny of the islands cannot be a subject of indifference to the United States.

Since the question of annexation has received its quietus,

the island government has rested its hopes of any further development of the agricultural resources of the country, in any degree commensurate with its capacities, upon a treaty of commercial reciprocity with the United States. Such a treaty was negotiated at Washington in August of last year, by the Hon. W. L. Lee, on the part of the Hawaiian Government, but it has not yet been ratified by the American Senate. The Hawaiian Islands, and the Pacific States and Territories of the United States, are naturally and indissolubly allied to each other, in respect to their relative geographical position, as well as their respective interchangeable productions; and, whilst the removal of existing restrictions to such a reciprocal interchange would be productive of their mutual advantage, their remoteness from the Atlantic States, and the general laws of trade render it improbable that any valuable interest of any section of the American Union would be thereby prejudiced; for no inconsiderable portion of the surplus produce of California and Oregon, of which the islands now consume but a fraction, it is believed that such a reciprocity would, at no distant day, open a convenient, and in respect to capacity, desirable market in the Hawaiian Archipelago, which otherwise must remain, to a large extent, an uninhabited waste, and, therefore, unavailable, as a market, as the coral reefs which surround it.

With the islands the question is one of vital import, of productive industry and growth, or of premature decay and death. Under the operation of the treaty, there would be a gradual ingress of capital and population from the United States. And should the islands never become an integral part of the American Union, all the advantages attainable by their annexation; would, without any corresponding sacrifices, be virtually secured to the latter.

EARLY PHYSICIANS OF THE SOUTH.*

I come, now, gentlemen, to the distinguished physicians of the South who flourished in the days of our colonial existence.

According to the researches of Dr. Beck into the medical history of those days, Medicine appears to have been cultivated with much more success in the middle and southern colonies, than in the eastern. This may be accounted for, he says, by the fact that the former enjoyed the services of several foreign physicians who had early emigrated thither, enriched by the best medical education that Europe could afford. But

* From the Introductory Lecture of E. D. Fenner, M. D., before the classes of the new School of Medicine at New Orleans, 1856.

this was likewise the case at the North. In those days it was more common in the South to send their young men to foreign Universities to complete their medical studies. In addition to all this, we learn that a taste for researches in natural history began to develop itself much sooner in some of the Southern colonies, and doubtless produced a salutary effect in spreading the influence of liberal sentiments. To these causes is to be attributed the early superiority of the Southern colonies more especially.

Of the colonial physicians, none were more active or distinguished than those of South Carolina. Dr. Ramsay, the historian, says, that William Bull was the first native of South Carolina who obtained a degree in medicine. In 1734 he graduated at the University of Leyden, and on that occasion, defended and published an Inaugural Dissertation "*De Colica Pictorum*." He had studied under Boerhaave, and seems to have commanded the respect of his associates. By the celebrated Van Swieten, he is spoken of in his commentaries as the learned Dr. Bull.

In 1749, John Moultrie received the degree of Doctor in Medicine at the University of Edinburgh, and published a thesis "*De Febre Flava*." He was the first native Carolinian who obtained the degree at that University. According to Dr. Ramsay, ten other native Carolinians obtained the same honor between the years 1768 and '78.

As more particularly distinguished in this section of the country, the names of Drs. Lining, Chalmers, and Garden, deserve to be especially noticed. They were all natives of Scotland, and emigrated in the early part of that century. Being men of unquestioned abilities, learning, and enterprize, they contributed greatly, both by their influence and writings, to elevate the character of the profession.

In 1653, Dr. Lining published "*A Description of the American Yellow Fever*," in a letter to the celebrated Dr. Robert Whytt, Professor of Medicine in the University of Edinburgh. This was the first account of that terrible disorder which had emanated from this continent, and stands to this day, says, Dr. Beck, unrivalled for the general accuracy and minuteness of its description.

Of Dr. Chalmers and his remarkable "*Essay on Fevers*," we have already spoken. He also wrote a valuable paper on *Tetanus*, which was very prevalent in Charleston in those days; and in 1776, he published his great work on the *Climate and Diseases of South Carolina*, in two volumes. "This production, says Dr. Beck, was the result of upwards of twenty years experience, and is worthy of especial notice as being the first and only work we have, which gives an account of the

peculiar diseases of any of the colonies. It fully merits a place along side of the works of Huxham and Cleghorn."

Dr. Alexander Garden was another distinguished physician of Charleston, at this period. From all the accounts left of him, he appears to have been a man not merely well versed in his profession, but highly accomplished in literature and general science. He was much devoted to natural history; and the transactions of the Royal Society contain several of his papers in this department. As a proof of the high estimation in which he was held, it may be mentioned, that Linnæus the greatest Botanist of the age, with whom he corresponded in Latin, gave the name of *Gardenia* (in honor of him) to one of the most beautiful flowering shrubs in the world. He was a member of the Royal Societies of Upsal and London. About the year 1764, he published an account of the anthelmintic virtues of the *Spigelia Marylandica*, together with a botanical description of the plant. For the first knowledge of its virtues as a vermifuge, it appears we are entirely indebted to the Cherokee Indians. According to Dr. Garden, the discovery was made by them about forty years previous to the time he wrote. It is needless to say that it retains to this day the high reputation which it acquired nearly a century ago.

Virginia could boast of some distinguished medical men; and among these especially were Clayton and Mitchell. Dr. John Clayton was particularly eminent as a botanist, and devoted a long life to the investigation of the plants of Virginia. He is honorably mentioned by Thomas Jefferson, in his *Notes on Virginia*, as "an accurate observer who passed a long life in exploring and describing its plants, and is supposed to have enlarged the botanical catalogue as much as almost any man who has lived." Mr. Jefferson speaks of him as a native of Virginia, but Dr. Beck says "it is incorrect," and that he was of English origin.

Dr. John Mitchell was an Englishman, who emigrated to Virginia about the beginning of the last century, and was alike distinguished for his attainments in medicine and natural history. The productions by which his name has been handed down to posterity, are—"An Essay on the Causes of the Different Colors of People in Different Climates," and "*Letters on the Yellow Fever of Virginia*." The first of these, says Dr. Beck, is a production of no ordinary character. It was published in the Philosophical Transactions of 1743, and occupies about fifty pages. The second gives an account of the yellow fever that prevailed in Virginia in the years 1737, '41, and '42. This paper was not published at the time, but the manuscript fell into the hands of Dr. Franklin, by whom it was given to Dr. Rush. It was entirely by the observations and suggestions

of this physician, that Dr. Rush, as he frankly acknowledges, was afterwards led to the free use of purgatives in the yellow fever of 1793.

Another physician of Virginia, and a *native*, Dr. John Tennent deserves to be mentioned, as having written the first account of that valuable medicine, the *Polygala Senega*. He appears to have been a connection of the celebrated Dr. Richard Mead, of London, and it was to him that he communicated the first information on this subject. It seems that the plant had long been used by the Seneca tribe of Indians, as a specific for the bite of the rattlesnake. Dr. Tennent has seen cases of this kind successfully treated by it, and from the analogy in the symptoms and those of pneumonia and pleurisy, he was led to try it in those diseases, and, as he relates, with great success. He also recommended it in rheumatism, dropsy, and gout. The virtues of the *Polygala* had no sooner been promulgated in Europe, than they were tested and confirmed by Bouvart and other French physicians. It is worthy of remark, says Dr. Beck, that although its efficiency against the bite of the rattlesnake has proved fanciful, yet its reputation as a valuable adjuvant in certain forms of pulmonary disease has been retained to the present day. For the subsequent application of it too, as a remedy in croup, we are indebted to an American physician, Dr. Archer, of Maryland. By him it was originally recommended in this disease in the year 1806. To American physicians are we thus indebted for almost all our knowledge of this valuable plant.

Thus, gentlemen, have I given a brief and imperfect sketch of the names and labors of the distinguished Southern physicians, who flourished in the days of our colonial history. After their departure, there was a long interregnum of literary obscurity in the Southern States, and it is only within our day, that the sceptre of medical power and distinction, which was allowed to pass into the hands of our energetic bretheren at the North, seems like being again restored to the clime in which it originated. But this will depend in a great measure upon the energy, zeal, and perseverance with which we cultivate medical science in the Southern States. Far be from me the wish to excite *sectional* prejudice or animosity in the medical profession throughout our whole country. My only desire is to awaken among the physicians of the South a spirit of generous and honorable rivalry with their talented and accomplished brethren of the North, in the pursuit of knowledge which concerns most deeply the welfare of the whole human family. The great Fathers of Medicine lived in Southern countries, and the schools of Alexandria, Pergamos, and Rome could boast of the greatest intellects of their age, when Lon-

don and Paris, Edinburgh, Dublin, and Vienna, were in a state of barbarism. Time is not allowed me to even glance over the progress of medical science in Europe from the period of the Esculapian Temples down to the brilliant era in which we live; but it may be interesting to note the origin and progress of medical schools in this country, from their very inception down to the present day; and I shall proceed to this before describing the course of study that is contemplated in the Institution which we are inaugurating to-day, or pointing out the particular duties belonging to the Chair which has been assigned to my charge. I enter upon this part of my task to-day, gentlemen, with pleasure, because it will show you from what small beginnings some of our greatest Institutions have sprung, and how much may be accomplished by individual enterprise and energy.

Among the most singular features connected with the history of our Colonial Medicine, is the fact that so little attention was paid to professional education. This is the more remarkable, says, Dr. Beck, inasmuch as our colonial ancestors were fully alive to the importance of general instruction, and the most honorable efforts were made to establish it on a respectable foundation. So early as the year 1638, Harvard University, in Massachusetts, was founded. In 1691, William and Mary College, in Virginia; in 1700, Yale College in Connecticut; and in 1746, Princeton College, in New Jersey, were severally established; yet in none of them was any provision made for instruction in medical science. The education of physicians, therefore, at this period, restricted as it was to the personal instruction of those with whom they studied, must have been limited indeed. The only mode of supplying this deficiency was by resorting to foreign countries; and it appears that almost all the distinguished physicians who flourished anterior to the Revolution, had received their education in Europe.

THE SOUTHERN STATES.

(CONTINUED.)

GEORGIA.—Until the year 1732 the territory of the State of Georgia was included in the names Carolana and Carolina. For the effecting and promoting of its settlement the King, George II, separated from Carolina the territory between the rivers Savannah and Altamaha, and erected this territory by a charter of the 9th June, 1732, into an independent and separate government, which was called, in honor of that king, the province of "*Georgia*." It was probably from the beginning the intention that this colony should go as far down as the St.

Mary's river; for the patent says "it should go so far south as the southernmost branch of the Altamaha river."* And on the maps of that time, we see that it was then believed that Altamaha river had a southern branch which conducted into St. Mary's river, and the mouth of this river was therefore considered also to be the mouth of the Altamaha. The boundaries were, however, in later times actually conducted so far south. With this exception the limits of the province of Georgia suffered no changes on the coast, though in the interior the changes were great. These interior changes have, however, no relation with our hydrographical researches.

FLORIDA.—The name which the country to the north of Cuba had amongst the Indians of the Lucayan Islands was "*Cautio*," the signification of which, is, as Herrera gives it, rather obscure.

The Spaniards heard this country "*Cautio*" already spoken of before they saw it. They heard also of the famous and fabulous fountain of youth of which the Indians had a tradition, and which was called the fountain of Bimini. From this fountain the country to the north itself was sometimes called "*Bimini*." On some of the first maps of the sixteenth century it is also called "*Terra de Cuba*," (the country of Cuba,) as if there were, 1, an island of Cuba, and 2, a continent of Cuba.

When Ponce de Leon, in the spring of 1512, discovered this coast he gave to it the name of "*Florida*," (the florid,) from two reasons, as Herrera says—at first because the country presented a very flourishing and pleasant aspect, and then because he saw the coast at that festival-day which the Spaniards call "*Pascua Florida*," which corresponds to our Palm Sunday.

This name has since that time always remained to the large peninsula which we to this day call Florida, though the name was sometimes taken in different senses, and though sometimes there have been attempts made quite to do away with it.

At first, so long as Florida was supposed to be an island, the name had only a very limited application. When the Spaniards, after the year 1520, discovered, however, the continuation of the coasts on both sides of Florida, they applied this name to the whole western half of North America, from the boundaries of Mexico and from Cape of Florida towards the north, in indefinitum. The so-called "*Government of Florida*" was often given to different Spanish Governors within the said limits. The "*Rio de las Palmas*" (Palm river) in Mexico was the southwestern boundary of this Government.

We see the name of Florida on many maps, with large letters, written through the whole Mississippi valley, throughout

* See Holmes' Annals, II. 131.

the whole area of the United States; and even as late as the year 1723 the Spanish historian Barcia treated in the work which he calls "*The history of Florida*," also of Canada, and even of the English expeditions for a discovery of the Northwest passage. This latter passage the Spanish authors very often style "*a Strait through Florida*."

Herrera, however, already remarks that the name of Florida was taken in two senses; it had a more extensive and a narrower meaning. In the latter sense the peninsula was called "*Florida par excellence*."

Some authors looked upon this peninsula only as upon a large tongue or promontory attached to the great Floridian continent, and named it the "*Promontory of Florida*," (*Promontorium Floridae*.) On many old maps we see this name cover the whole peninsula.

Still other names for the whole peninsula grew out, as it were, from its root or from its southern point. At the time of the Spanish Governor Don Pedro Menendez, in the year 1566, the Spaniards discovered near the Cape of Florida an Indian village called Tequesta or Teguesta, also written Tegesta. This often-spoken of village the map-makers put down on their maps, and changed it to a "*Provincia de Tegesta*," (a province of Tegeste.) Some authors applied this name to the whole peninsula of Florida. Thus, for instance, did Laët, in his work as well as on his maps. (A. D. 1633.)

When the French discovered and settled the Mississippi valley and named it Louisiana, they extended this name and their pretensions as far as possible; and on one French map by Nic. de Fer, of the year 1713, we see the name "*Peninsule de Louisiane*" even given to our Peninsula of Florida. This was, however, only a single and unfortunate attempt, which had no further consequences either in geography or politics.

The Spaniards, on their side, gave not up their pretensions to claim, under the name of Florida, much more than their neighbors, the British, to the north, and the French to the west, would allow them. But the Spaniards extended, before 1763, their actual possession and government in Florida towards the east not further than Mobile Bay and river, and to the north not further than the St. Mary's river.

When, in the year 1763, the Floridas were ceded to Great Britain, and also all the French dominions east of the Mississippi, then the boundaries of the name Florida were extended again. Great Britain established two provinces of Florida, "*East and West Florida*." The first extended as far north as the St. Mary's river, or about the 31st degree of north latitude,

and the latter as far west as the Mississippi Delta, to the Lakes Pontchartrain and Maurepas.

In the year 1783 Great Britain retroceded the Floridas to Spain, and Spain at the same time received the possession of the whole of French Louisiana to the west of the Mississippi.

Now, for the first time, Spain held in actual possession all the shores of the Mexican Gulf, and all the countries lying around it.

Spain adopted the English division in Eastern and Western Florida—*Florida Oriental and Occidental*—and retained also the extension of this name as far as the Mississippi Delta.

The 31st degree of north latitude, which runs not much further than forty miles from the northern shores of the Mexican Gulf and is parallel to it, was agreed upon as the northern boundary of "*the Floridas*" towards the United States. So, since the year 1763, the name of Florida extended again over half the circuit of the shores of the Mexican Gulf.

But soon after the cession of Louisiana to the United States Florida was curtailed again. The United States claimed the western part of it as far east as Perdido river, received the possession of it in the year 1811, and joined it to their "*Territory of Mississippi*," and afterwards of "*Alabama*."

Since this time (1811) the dominion of the name of Florida has not changed, though the so-called country changed, till 1821, its masters, when Spain ceded it to the United States. It was then at first called "*the Territory of Florida*," and since 1845 *the State of Florida*. But the limits remained (with some slight exceptions) unchanged—Perdido river in the west and St. Mary's river and the 31° N. L. in the north. The division into East and West Florida disappeared under the American Government.

ALABAMA.—The history of this name can be traced as far back as the expedition of De Soto, (1540.)

The Spanish author, *Biedma*, who wrote his report on that expedition in the year 1544, is probably the *first man who introduced it into history and geography*. He says, that De Soto and his companions met, in the country north of the Mexican Gulf, when they returned from the northeast towards Mobile, an Indian chief and tribe called "*Alibamu*." The other historians of the same expedition sometimes write the name a little differently. Thus, for instance, "the Portuguese gentleman of Elvas"* calls that chief "*Alimamu*."

When the Spanish conqueror and general, De Luna, (1560,) entered these countries he made many expeditions towards that

* An author on the history of De Soto, the name of which is doubtful.

country and river which we now call "Alabama." The historians of his expeditions generally have for that country, river, and its Indian aborigines the name "*Coca*," (our Coosa.) But they make their heroes also meet in those regions a tribe of Indians whom they call "*los Indios de Olibahali*," (the Indians of Olibahali.) It was perhaps the same word with De Soto's name, "*Alibamu*," which De Luna and his man understood and wrote differently.

After De Luna, for more than one hundred years, nobody again entered those regions. And we find, therefore, on the maps of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, among the many names which cover the country to the north of the Gulf, sometimes the old names of "*Alibamo*," "*Alimamu*," "*Olibahali*," or something like this, often, however, in very different positions.

When the French (1701) settled at Mobile Bay and made excursions to the north they found again that same old name and tribe. They wrote it very much like the historians of De Soto, "*Les Allibamous*;" and we see this name already on the map of the French geographer De L'Isle (1719) as the name of a large river, "*Riviere des Allibamous*," which is the old "*Coca*" of De Luna and our Alabama. Many French authors, however, wrote this name "*Alibamons*." So D'Anville and Charlevoix.

On the maps of Bellin (1744) we find the name of "*Les Alibamous*," written with large broad letters over a whole tract of country, as the name of a large Indian province round the river of the same name.

When the English made their first inroads towards this region from Georgia and Carolina (at the beginning of the eighteenth century) they heard also of that people; but they heard again a little differently. Coxe, the historian of the province of "*Carolana*," says that they were called "*Ullibalies*," which are, he says, "the same tribe called by the French '*Allibamons*.'" I do not know if there was a difference in the English and French ears, and in their manner of catching the Indian sound, or if the Indians themselves had two different names. Coxe's orthography is very much like that of De Luna's historians. Did Doctor Coxe perhaps get his name and spelling from *this* source?

On the maps of the eighteenth century we see the name always *either* after the French *or* after the English orthography. But at last the old Spanish and French name prevailed, only that the English changed it a little, from *Alibamou* to *Alabama*, after the same manner in which, in the West of America, they still make many words ending in "*i*" sound like "*a*;" for instance, "*Miama*" instead of "*Miami*," "*Praira*"

instead of "Prairie." Some have believed that the signification of the Indian word *Alabama* was "a beautiful country," or something like this, and that it was given to the country by the aborigines when they took possession of it. A similar explanation has been given to other Indian names of countries; for instance, to *Iowa*, and I believe also to *Texas*.

As the *denomination of a large territory* the name Alabama appeared for the first time in the year 1817, when the western portion of the until then so-called Mississippi Territory became a State, under the name of the State of Mississippi, and when the eastern portion of the same Territory was erected into a separate Territory, under the name of "*the Territory of Alabama*," which became soon after (in the year 1820) a State.

The name covers, however, only that little part of the coast of the Gulf between Perdido Bay and Grand Bay, every thing round Mobile Bay.

SOUTHERN CONVENTION AT SAVANNAH.

(CONCLUDED.)

APPENDIX NO. 4.

DEBATE ON DIRECT TAXATION AND DIRECT TRADE.

C. PEEPLES, of Georgia, submitted the following preamble and resolution:

Whereas, It is of the utmost importance to the commercial independence and well being of the South, that means should be at once actively set on foot for the purpose of establishing a direct trade with England and the continent of Europe.

Be it therefore Resolved, That a preliminary subscription be at once made by the members of this body, for the purpose of forming a nucleus upon and around which they can create a joint stock company, for the purpose of building ocean steamers, to facilitate direct trade with England; said contributions being not less than one hundred dollars to each member.

Mr. P. said his object in offering the resolution was to enable the Convention to do something practical, and not devote their time to the passage of empty resolutions. What was wanted was, to use the language of Kossuth, "material aid."

Mr. BETHUNE, of Georgia, said that he could not see that the resolution would accomplish anything, as it could not bind the members of the Convention if it was passed. The object of the Convention, as he understood it, was to establish direct trade; but that did not depend upon lines of steamships. It would be better for the producer to hire his carrying done, while he made it his business to raise products. Lines of steamships had been established from Charleston, and within a few weeks or months had been sold to the North at a discount. It was but a loss of capital to attempt to build steamships, as much so as for the producer to build wagons to carry his cotton to market when railroads would do it cheaper. He referred to the former condition of the South, when she imported her own goods for consumption, instead of transporting them by the way of New York. He ascribed the change to the transferring of the gold and silver obtained here for customs to the city of New York to be used for the benefit of Northern merchants. He believed the remedy was to be found in the repeal of the tariff laws, and in direct taxation, when each man would pay ac-

the South paying, as she does now, a larger proportion than could justly be asked of her. He reviewed the effect of the tariff upon the cotton market, showing by statistics that when the tariff was a high one, the cotton market was depressed, and when the tariff was a low one the price of cotton was raised. He argued that by repealing the tariff, and raising revenue by direct taxation, the Southern merchant could obtain and sell goods as cheaply as the Northern merchant, for the foreign manufacturer would bring his goods to Southern ports to exchange for Southern products, and the country would be relieved from the support of the 2,800 officials now engaged in collecting the revenue, at an average annual salary of \$900 each. Congress would be more economical of the public money, in appropriations, as the rich and influential would be averse to taxing themselves.

He said that up to 1840, the South was a unit in favor of free trade, or at least a low tariff, but at that time was led to support the opponent of Van Buren, and swallow the bank, tariff, internal improvements, and all, because the State Rights party had taken a grudge against Jackson and Calhoun as his right hand men. He was for the repeal of the tariff and for direct taxation.

Mr. RICHARDSON, of Maryland, said that he had been afraid when he came here, that the Convention would have too many things to attend to. But his friend from Georgia, (Mr. Bethune,) had brought forward, as the grand panacea for all the troubles under which the South labored, the simple thing of asking Congress to repeal the revenue laws and impose direct taxation. He was of opinion, however, that though there was considerable truth in the argument of the gentleman, he could not get the people to understand it. If, however, the Convention had been convinced by the elaborate arguments and statistics of the gentleman, then all they had to do was to vote for a repeal of the revenue laws, and for the imposition of direct taxation, and the resolution before them of a hundred dollars subscription would be a matter of no moment.

Mr. PEEPLES, of Georgia, said he was utterly indifferent as to the fate of his resolution, as he did not have the vanity to suppose that he could bring forward anything that would be more meritorious than could be proposed by others. But he desired to test the sense of the Convention by some proposition which he considered eminently practicable. If the resolution was adopted, he did not suppose it would be obligatory upon the members of the Convention. It was simply an expression of a desire to have some initial point about which those men can gather, who desire to attempt something practicable by subscribing so much to this end, to enable capitalists to take hold of the matter.

Mr. JOHN A. CALHOUN, of South Carolina, said that he thought his friend of the "Corner Stone," (Mr. Bethune,) had presented a view entitled to very weighty considerations. If any one thing can prove a panacea for the Southern people, free trade will do so. There was a period in the history of this country, when the direct importations of Charleston were greater than the direct importations of the city of New York. The first move towards the concentration of commercial power in the North, was about the time of the establishment of the United States Bank, and the tariff of 1816 clinched it, and since then there has been a constant increase of power in the North and diminution of power in the South. He would not go into an elaborate discussion of the causes of this change, but he would say that any other class of people who would submit to the onerous and oppressive operations of the tariff laws as the South had done, could not sustain themselves. The South had been prosperous in defiance of a most unjust and oppressive system of taxation. The South paid a tribute of more than 40 millions of dollars for the privilege of this Union, while the North had the full benefit of it. If that amount was distributed among the Southern States for their prosperity, they would flourish like the green bay tree. He did not desire to make angry appeals to the Convention, but he would appeal to Southern men to meet the question boldly, distinctly, and fairly in the face, and at once make up their minds as to what course they will pursue. The gentleman from Maryland, (Mr. Richardson,) said that the South was not sufficiently informed upon the subject to take definite action. He (Mr. C.) agreed with him, but would ask if it was not time that they were informed, and where was the

occasion and when the time they could commence better than the present? He trusted the measure would receive the fullest consideration.

Mr. SWAN, of Tennessee, said that it was well known that the Hon. A. Dudley Mann had addressed a letter to the people of the slaveholding States in relation to the establishment of a line of steamers from the United States to Europe. He had no doubt that it was on that account that Mr. Mann had been invited to take a seat in the Convention, and had been placed upon the Committee on Business. And, inasmuch as the proposition of the gentleman from Georgia, (Mr. Peeples,) was one that related to the same subject, it was but justice to Mr. Mann, to refer it to the Committee, to give him, as a member of the Committee and a member of the Convention, an opportunity to submit his views to the Convention.

APPENDIX NO. 5.

DEBATE ON THE PACIFIC RAILROAD.

Mr. JONES, of Georgia, asked that the question be taken upon the resolutions separately.

The question being taken upon the first resolution, it was adopted.

The question was stated to be upon the second resolution.

Mr. JONES, of Georgia, moved to strike out the words "together with such aid as may be obtained from grants of the public domain, for postal or military, or any other service which may be lawfully rendered to the Federal Government by said Company."

Mr. BALDWIN, of Virginia, asked what States and Territories were referred to in the expression incorporated and constructed by the authority of State and Territorial Legislatures?

Mr. COCHRAN.—Those States and Territories through which the road may pass.

Mr. BALDWIN.—And what stocks are expected to give contributions?

Mr. COCHRAN.—The Committee expected that those States along the line of the Railroad and in the South would be most interested, but they did not mean to restrict any State from investing their means in the construction of this road if they should think proper to do so.

Mr. BALDWIN, moved the indefinite postponement of the resolution and amendment. As a Delegate from Virginia, he most earnestly protested against being committed to any scheme by which States are called upon for contributions to build this road. It was a gigantic scheme fraught only with mischief, and he thought it was in violation of the entire policy of Southern politics to call upon the Government of the States to undertake any such work. It was a novel scheme, sprung upon the Convention without time for consideration, and for that reason he moved its indefinite postponement.

Mr. BURWELL, of Virginia, said that as a friend of the South he felt it to be his duty to advocate such practical measures as would develop the power and perpetuate the liberties of the section to which he belonged. He considered it important that this work of internal improvement which was to operate as a conduit to carry the institutions and people of the South into new and untrodden regions should be built as soon as possible. If they acknowledged the power, on the part of the Federal Government, to construct this road, then it might designate some other route, which would carry northern institutions and people to these new regions and extinguish the little power the South now possessed. The committee therefore, determined that it was unwise to confide this work to the General Government, but that it was best for us to prevent that by constructing it ourselves. It was for the Convention to determine how far the sources of construction indicated could be relied on, consistently with the cording to what he was worth, for the support of the Government, instead of

rights and principles of the South. He had seen since he had been in the Convention, an act of Louisiana, incorporating the Pacific Railroad, and asking the States of the South to become corporators in the company.

Mr. HUBBARD, of Alabama, said this resolution did not ask a donation of the General Government, but merely that it should pay, by grants of land, for the increase of value the road would give to the land that would remain. He thought that was nothing more than right.

Mr. SHERROD CLEMENS, of Virginia, said that from the foundation of the General Government, the disposal of the public lands had been one of the most distracting questions that had arisen for decision. The first proposition was to distribute the proceeds among the several States. That had been tried and given up. The next proposition was to cede the lands to the States in which they were situated. The next to graduate their price, and it was reduced in some instances to 12½ cents an acre. But the most dangerous of all the propositions, was the one now before the Convention, and which came first from Illinois, Iowa, and other Western States; to grant the lands in aid of the construction of Railroads on the plea that the value of the other lands was increased thereby. He referred to the operation of the Illinois Central Railroad grant by which private individuals had realized immense fortunes, while the United States had received comparatively nothing. The Illinois Central Railroad had become a first rate power in the country, deriving a revenue of four millions of dollars a year from their land sales, and this was but that scheme applied to a different section of the country. He argued that Territorial Legislatures had no power to grant acts of incorporation to Railroad Companies. He thought no harm would result from postponing the consideration of this subject a while longer.

Mr. HUBBARD replied at some length to the arguments of the gentleman from Virginia, (Mr. Clemens.)

Mr. COCHRAN, of Alabama, said that if he were not the organ of the committee, he would not enter into this discussion. The first question was, shall this road be built or not? The next question was, how shall the road be built? As to the first question, any man who knows anything, knows that this road must and will be built. Then, will the South seize the opportunity and make the road their own, or will she permit the North to build it and receive the benefit of it? The South, if it obtains any increase and development, must find it in the country between here and South America; and this road is the only means by which to attain that result. Defer action upon it, and the North will enter that region of country by a road of their own, and we will be excluded. How shall this road be built? Not by the Federal Government, for it has not the power and right to build it. It is contended that the Territorial Legislatures have no right to grant the right of way through the public domain, for that would be ceding the sovereignty over the land. Now they have no power at all if they have not the power of granting the right of way. He would not discuss the question as to their right to incorporate a company, though he believed they had that right. The act of incorporation could be obtained from any State. They must possess the power to grant the right of way, in order to be able to legislate for the best interests of the citizens of the territory, to enable them to get to market with their produce in the best manner possible. Now, the grant of the right of way does not give the sovereignty of the land, for in all such grants the eminent domain remains in the State or Territory; and Congress in giving the Territorial Legislature the power to legislate for the benefit of the people there, constitutes it its agent and cannot repudiate its acts.

Now as to the means for building the road, the resolution does not ask the General Government to give lands but to grant them, and a grant always implies a consideration, a contract. Congress as the trustee of these lands has the right to make regulations for increasing the value of the lands by grants of this character.

Mr. BALDWIN, of Virginia, asked if the Convention was called upon to recommend a particular route for the railroad, as was done in this resolution. He

himself was without the necessary information to warrant him in making that recommendation. Nor was he prepared to recommend that corporate bodies or States should invest their capital in this enterprise. He was opposed to the system of grants of land, because they had always been followed by fraud and corruption. He was opposed to the whole scheme proposed.

Mr. ALBERT J. PIKE, of Louisiana, was loudly called for; and he arose and said that he had bestowed no thought upon these resolutions, and had not intended to make any remarks upon them. He had a plan of his own which had received the sanction of the last two Conventions, and for which a charter had already been granted by the legislature of Louisiana. His plan was to unite the States, corporations, and individuals of the South as corporators of a joint stock company to build the railroad to the Pacific. If the General Government build the road, they would build two roads at the North and one at the South. He was for the South building the road—all the South, States and individuals, and not any one company. As the grants of lands from Congress, the principle seemed settled that the lands should be granted for such a purpose, and he would not set up any constitutional objections he might have and refuse to take the share that was justly due the South. He was willing to recommend to his and others' States to take the stock in this road. He did not care if it never paid $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. if it enabled the South to stretch her arms across the continent and grasp southern California and the other Mexican States now ready to fall into our hands, thereby controlling the commerce of the East Indies and China with this country and Europe. We could then remain in this Union which we love so much, but unless some such steps were taken to unite the South, to strengthen her and make her independent of the North, the days of this Union were numbered.

He was no disunionist, but merely wanted to make the South independent and prosperous; and he was not afraid to talk of the political aspect of the country. He did not think commerce had brought together eight hundred men here from different portions of the South, but the political condition of the country, and he was not afraid to say what he thought about it. They had just gone through an exciting political contest in which the existence of the Union itself was put in the scale, and they were now able to judge of the danger that threatened them. Look at the formidable proportions of the party of the North. All the New England States had gone against the South, and of the other Northern States, Pennsylvania had been saved by but about 700 votes; Indiana by but a few thousand, while Illinois had a majority against their rights and interests. He was not for dissolving the Union, though he believed the South had a right to do so, and if it was to be settled, that the Fugitive Slave compact was to be virtually null and void at the North, that would warrant the South in doing so. But the right to dissolve the Union and the policy of doing so now were two different things. What should be done when the Union was dissolved, should be deferred until that deplorable event should take place. It were worse than useless to consider that matter now. In the meantime, let the South strengthen their defences, develop their resources, increase their prosperity and forget their intestine feuds and struggles, remembering that though they cannot expect to be in the majority, yet a strong and united minority by throwing its weight on the one side or the other of the contending parties of the North, as policy and prudence may dictate, will enable the South, for many years to come, to govern the country as they have heretofore done.

This Convention was a mere advisory body, but it was not laws that govern a people. Laws were but the crystallization of ideas arrived at maturity in the minds of the people. He believed that those who truly governed were the dead: the living but obeyed their teachings. The spirit of John C. Calhoun governed those in that Convention more than did any living man.

He hoped the Convention would work, do something practical, and not be led aside to discuss the diversities of politics of South Carolina, Georgia, Virginia, Mississippi, Arkansas, or other States. We are in the Union now. He trusted we should ever remain in it. But let us act as if, while we may remain in it forever, we may be soon compelled to act out of the Union, and then we shall

have nothing with which to blame ourselves. He said that as a poet had a right to quote himself, he would close in his own words:

The issues are with God; to do
Of right belongs to us;
Justice is mightier than ships,
Right than the cannon's brazen lips,
And truth divesting dark eclipse
Makes nations prosperous.

APPENDIX NO. 6.

SOUTHERN EDUCATION AND SCHOOL BOOKS.

VICKSBURG, MISSISSIPPI, November 29, 1856.

To the Commercial Convention assembled at Savannah:

GENTLEMEN: His Excellency, the Governor of this State, has honored me with an appointment to a seat in your honorable body; but other and imperative duties demanding my attention, deprive me of the pleasure of meeting with you. Were I with you I should endeavor to urge upon your attention the claims of Southern authors, and Southern school books from home presses for home consumption. I deem this one of the most important measures that can occupy your time. The South has been slow to enter upon this great enterprise, but if she be true to herself she must put forth her energies and achieve for herself a name and a success which shall atone for the follies of the past. Whilst we have no prejudices to gratify, we have great principles to maintain, and our happiness and prosperity as a people depend, in a great degree, on the development and success of every enterprise having a tendency to free us from a dishonorable vassalage in our moral, intellectual, political, and commercial economies, from those who are more than even proud to be bitterly hostile to us and our institutions. The entire education of our children *at home*, and the provision of *suitable works* therefor, is the only true safeguard for the protection of the educational interests of the South, and in thus guarding the threshold we may preserve the citadel. Our citizens have, for years together, lavished their wealth by unknown thousands upon institutions and faculties who esteem it a condescension to teach Southern pupils, and spurn their parents and guardians as graceless barbarians. But the South has at last recognized the delicate hint, and set herself to the work of reforming these reproachful abuses. Southern youth must be educated at home. Self-respect, parental love, economy, health, the claims of the coming years, all imperatively demand it. But if we use abolition text books at home, we might as well send the pupils to the land where the books originate. We can, and we must have our own text books—the fruits of Southern scholarship. We can, and we must print, publish, and teach our own books; we must not permit our foes to compose our songs and prepare our nursery tales, reserving for ourselves only the privilege of framing husky statutes, and holding Commercial Conventions.

There can be no second opinion as to the dangers of a continuance of our present dependence on Northern educatory agencies and presses for the formation of the minds of the young men of this age. Books are the true organizers of the future, and the real legislators of the present; they will force a harvest for every seed they sow, and it remains for us to say whether we shall have a harvest of brambles or of grains. The potent and recognized ruler of to day "is that living, throbbing, omnipresent power called literature." Is our school literature worthy to reign over us? Is it not a Trojan horse? Is it not dangerous, fanatical, bloodthirsty? Look at the works on moral science, political economy, geography, oratory, found in every town, city, and hamlet school amongst us! For a sample of these various publications, I beg to refer your attention to De Bow's Review for January, 1856, to several articles in the late issues of the Charleston Courier, over the signature of a South Carolinian, and

also to the documents accompanying this letter. Nor do any, or all of them combined, fully present the evils of the case. Another array is reserved for a future period. Precisely what is the best measure or plans to adopt, for the accomplishment of the objects aimed at, must be a matter of grave and intelligent inquiry. The measure I have advocated may not be the best, but I have met with no others that are more practicable, or promise to accomplish the object with more certainty. That measure has met the hearty and unanimous approval of two of our largest Commercial Conventions—that of Charleston and New Orleans. Herewith, I forward the details of that plan, in a communication drawn out by an editorial in the New Orleans Picayune; doubtless it is not unobjectionable, but the difficulties are far less than many suppose. In the first place, it does exclude works already in use from a competition for the premiums; nor does it require the committees to meet often. They may require all books entered for the prizes to be printed so as to abridge their labors. I am confident the Legislature of this State will, at its next approaching session, inaugurate the scheme and set the ball in motion. I beg that your honorable body may consider the whole matter, and if my views shall meet your approbation, I hope you may be able to present them to each of the Legislatures of the Southern States, through a committee raised for that special purpose, and let us see what virtue there is in the effort to wipe out the reproach which has so long dishonored our escutcheon.

With profound respect,

I am truly yours,

C. K. MARSHALL.

APPENDIX NO. 7.

SOUTHERN PRESSES AT THE NORTH.

To the President of the Southern Convention:

The undersigned, a native of the South, but for several years a resident in the vicinity of Philadelphia, would respectfully submit for the consideration of the Convention, a plan for the establishment of co-operating presses, in the Northern cities, devoted to the rights and interests of the slaveholding States.

The Press, in most countries, seems to be the lever by which the popular sentiment is moved. The editorial articles of the London Times are sent throughout the kingdom by telegraph, and read in distant places on bulletin boards. The Ministry, and the Lords and Commons, alike acknowledge the influence thus wielded. In our own country, a journal has attained the circulation of nearly 300,000 copies during the first fifteen years of its existence. There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the following statement of the growth and extraordinary circulation of the "New York Tribune." The table furnishes statistics of the number of papers sent to the different States, &c., and the increase during the first period of the Black Republican agitation:

	April 10, 1855.	Oct. 22, 1856.	Increase.
Africa.....	.....	25	25
Alabama.....	37	79	42
Arkansas.....	7	13	6
Asia.....	.....	37	37
California.....	7,283	9,480	2,197
Canada.....	1,787	3,247	1,460
Cherokee Nation.....	3	8	5
Columbia (District of).....	23	85	62
Connecticut.....	6,671	8,789	2,118
Delaware.....	90	285	195
Europe.....	500	550	50
Florida.....	23	27	4
Georgia.....	39	63	24

Illinois.....	10,552	15,932	5,380
Indiana.....	6,813	11,972	5,159
Iowa.....	3,986	6,950	2,974
Kansas.....	46	413	367
Kentucky.....	323	458	165
Louisiana.....	53	63	10
Maine.....	8,024	12,960	4,936
Maryland.....	210	432	222
Massachusetts.....	10,270	15,075	4,805
Michigan.....	9,156	15,846	6,690
Minnesota.....	.....	2,943	2,943
Missouri.....	202	550	248
Mississippi.....	30	82	2
Nebraska.....	3	117	114
New Brunswick.....	.....	259	259
New Jersey.....	3,483	5,410	1,927
New Hampshire.....	4,221	7,420	3,199
New York.....	58,571	86,577	28,006
New Mexico.....	4	21	17
North Carolina.....	28	39	11
Nova Scotia.....	5	113	110
Ohio.....	17,150	25,989	8,839
Oregon.....	239	597	358
Pennsylvania.....	10,602	17,360	6,658
Rhode Island.....	1,865	3,364	1,499
Sandwich Islands.....	117	213	94
South Carolina.....	17	38	21
South America.....	.....	105	105
Tennessee.....	100	197	97
Texas.....	102	174	72
Utah.....	4	58	54
Vermont.....	5,809	9,480	3,671
Virginia.....	.....	494	494
Washington Territory.....	33	69	36
Wisconsin.....	8,322	13,840	5,518
Total.....	176,813	278,280	101,467

There is reason to suppose such a gigantic engine has been a principal auxiliary in the consolidation of the vast Northern party, which menaces the constitutional rights of the South. It has become an element of power, if not the very substance and embodiment of it; and from the city of New York, candidates are dictated to the people, and policy to the Federal Government. In this manner a political predominance was centralized in Paris, which governed France; and Brissot, from that distant city, instigated the massacre of St. Domingo.

The undersigned, during his transactions with business men and others, has been led to understand that the amount of patronage bestowed on the North by the slaveholding States, is much more than equivalent to the annual expenditures of the Federal Government; and this is regarded by the recipients as a species of tribute, to which they are justly entitled; and the immense monuments of wealth and greatness flowing from it, they claim as exclusively their own, while the absence of similar evidences of prosperity at the sources whence their profits are derived, is often made the subject of reproach and derision. The planter, as he gazed upon the marble palaces of the North, could once be sensible of a patriotic pride in contemplating the grandeur of a common country. He was conscious of having contributed to the elevation of every magnificent structure. Every ship, and every railroad had been built, in part, with his money. The profits of his custom increased the number of manufactories, and multiplied the population, "for wheresoever the carcass is there the vultures will be gathered together." But the dream is at an end; the vision

departed. In the streets of a Northern city he is now regarded as an alien, a vassal, or an enemy. They laugh him to scorn because he has no great cities "in his own country;" no competing railroads; no factories, and no equality of population. And the thunders of their presses and their pulpits are launched against the "iniquity of slavery."

Foreign and native capitalists, whose professions were philanthropic, but whose purposes were certainly of a different tendency, have been known to furnish the means for the establishment of large jobbing houses, whose managers were abolitionists, and whose customers were the country merchants in the slave States. In this manner the seeds of pernicious sentiment have been scattered in the South. And the profits received by the jobber from the country merchant, who received them from the planter, have been employed to sustain the anti-slavery presses and abolition lecturers.

For the correction of such evils, it seems incumbent on the people of the South to adopt such action as will effectually tend to the vindication of their rights, to the security of their peace, and the promotion of their pecuniary interests.

The undersigned suggests the establishment of four daily journals, one in each of the following cities: Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. Each of the presses to issue, likewise, semi-weekly and weekly papers for country circulation. All the presses to be under the direction of a Committee, to ensure perfect co-operation of sentiment; and the corps of editors to be Southern born, of approved judgment, good character, and ample experience.

Connected with each office an agency to be formed, to obtain and preserve a perfectly reliable list of banks, bankers, brokers, shippers, importers, manufacturers, commission merchants, jobbers, publishers and booksellers, hotel-keepers, shop-keepers, artisans, &c., friendly to the institutions of the South, and upon whom the people of the slave States may safely bestow their patronage. By not referring to our enemies, there can be nothing invidious or dishonorable in knowing our friends.

The duty of the presses to be—

1st. Advocacy of the utmost economy on the part of the Southern people until arrangements can be completed for the manufacture within their own limits, and the direct importation of such articles as are usually bought in the North. To demonstrate the practicability of building cities on their own soil. To explain how they have been indirectly sustaining the burden of the existing commerce and steam communication with Europe, while all the benefits have been realized by their Northern traducers. To show that when the South resolves that her BUYING and SELLING shall be done on her own soil, then, and then only, her commercial vassalage will cease. That if she would require the purchasers of cotton to seek it on the plantations, and to pay for it in specie, millions would be saved in the items of freights and commissions. Bills of exchange, predicated upon the products of the South, would cease to garnish the counters of the money-changers' shops in Wall street, and the vaults of the Metropolitan banks would be subjected to a heathful depletion. To prove that in this way only, the South may be tributary to her own protection. That her population would increase, for wheresoever the profits of a country are to be reaped, the greatest redundancy of people will exist. That the various products of the world would be poured into her lap, in exchange for a share of her grand surplus of \$150,000,000 annually dug from her cotton fields. That towns and manufactories would spring up on her coasts, and artisans and operatives would repair thither to supply her demands. Colleges and schools, the arts and sciences, would flourish in her midst. Her commercial thralldom would be at an end. Old England herself would be tributary to her. Every thing commendable and desirable in New England, in obedience to a law of nature, would be transferred to the South. She would speedily have sufficient revenue to maintain an army equal to the one with which Napoleon conquered Europe, and to launch a navy sufficient for her security. And, that, in consideration of recent events, and all the indices of the future, *the South should slumber no more.* She should never rest from her labors, never pause in her preparations, until she is quite ready to hurl defiance at her enemies.

2d. To urge the formation of companies for the purpose of establishing steam communication between Southern ports and Europe. To invoke the opulent citizens of Southern States, neither to embark in Northern ships, nor to make their customary tours of the North.

3d. To watch the Sub-Treasury. To keep up an incessant demand for an instantaneous dispersion of the public funds. To show that although the duties are collected in New York, the importations are paid for and consumed by Southern and Southwestern people. That the bills of the importers are liquidated by the proceeds of the sales of Southern staples; and, therefore, the South should not only have the custody of a fair proportion of the revenue, but should require from the Government impartial and equal appropriations. To exhibit the relative contributions of the North and South to the wealth of the confederacy; showing that the United States Treasury realized \$127,000,000 from the sales of the territories ceded by Virginia and Georgia; and of that amount some \$52,000,000 only sufficed to purchase Iowa, Minnesota, Washington, Nebraska, Oregon, California, New Mexico, Utah, and perhaps a half-dozen other States and territories. While, on the other hand, the territories given by Massachusetts, New York, and Connecticut, yielded no revenue to the Union. The lands were sold, and the proceeds were retained by the Northern contributors. Nothing was relinquished by them but *jurisdiction*, in the bestowal of Vermont, Maine, &c.

4th. To furnish early information of the machinations of the diabolical abolition societies, and to warn Southern readers against newspapers, pamphlets, tracts, prints, and books calculated to produce injury.

5th. To utter Southern sentiment boldly and fully in the hot-beds of abolitionism, and to send their leading articles to all the capitals of Europe. To maintain, without hesitation, and unequivocally, the true position of the South, viz: That slavery is both right and expedient. That, sanctioned by omnipotence—by royal charters and treaties—by tradition and inheritance—recognized by the Constitution, and its propriety and benefits tested by experience, those who condemn it are our enemies, and those who attempt its overthrow must abide the arbitrament of arms, and to that result it will probably come at last.

Unquestionably such organs of the South would incur a tempest of wrath and obloquy, and their mission would have to be performed without regard to Northern approbation or support.

The presses and other materials would cost \$100,000; the weekly expenses of each, including rent, editors' salaries, reporters, compositors, and pressmen would be not less than \$500; the cost of paper would depend upon the number of subscribers.

The efficacy of the plan might be tested with a single press, having agencies and correspondents in the other cities. If successful there would be no difficulty in erecting the others.

But if the scheme of daily and semi-weekly papers be deemed impracticable or inexpedient, the undersigned has no doubt that, upon the endorsement of the Southern Convention, and an assurance of obtaining a reasonable number of subscribers, there are individuals who would be willing, at their own expense, to undertake the publication of a weekly journal in Philadelphia, devoted to Southern rights and Southern interests.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN B. JONES.

BURLINGTON, NEW JERSEY, November, 1856.

APPENDIX NO. 8.

POINTS OF INQUIRY FOR THE CONVENTION.

Extracted from the Communication of Jno. Darling, of Florida.

* * * Upon the whole, from what has been said, and viewing the aspect of affairs in relation to the institution of slavery and the commerce and produc-

tions of the South, in connection with the threatening position of abolitionism, and the restrictions of the revenue system when applied to the South, the Convention may properly consider or inquire—

1. What was the true doctrine in regard to the institution of slavery intended to be established by the Constitution, and to be maintained in the policy of the administration of same by the General Government?

2. Has that doctrine been maintained by the acts of Congress and the General Government?

3. Has the South at all times maintained that doctrine, and denied herself a taste of the political flesh pots of the North?

4. If there has been error in principle and action, where does the fault lie? Has the South come up to the correction with clean hands?

5. If there has been error, will the South stand together, and demand from the new administration a return of the National Legislature to its constitutional limits?

6. If the creed of the Cincinnati Conventionists has delivered up all the territories to anti-slavery, with one or two States to be formed out of Texas, ought the South to adhere to the platform she has endorsed?

7. Can the South now consistently demand the General Government to interfere with the will of the majority in the territories in regard to slavery, and how is the slaveholder there to be protected, without such interference? Will the majority doctrine, now triumphant, roll back the overwhelming tide of "free State" emigration to the territories from the free States?

8. If the revenue system works out an unjust and unequal tax upon the industry of the South, gives an improper influence to the Executive, and corrupts the political morals of the people, has the South the Representative power if united to set the matter right, by establishing free trade and direct taxation, or such other policy in the Government as shall place us on an equal footing with the abolitionists we feed and clothe?

9. What retaliatory and defensive measures the slave States may constitutionally adopt to protect their interests in agriculture, commerce and manufactures against the existing monopoly of foreign abolitionists, and which at the same time shall be calculated to teach them to feel how much their present prosperity is due to slave labor, and which may also have an influence to induce them to settle the slavery issue upon an irrevocable constitutional basis?

10. What laws the slave States may rightly enact and execute, both with and without the co-operation of the General Government, to prevent the distribution of abolition publications or correspondence, and the interference with slaves within their limits?

11. What measures may be instituted in the slave States, to establish and maintain a peculiar public sentiment adapted to the civilization of the South by a system of education for youth of both sexes, which, while it shall not deny the general knowledge of a liberal education, it shall inculcate that its usefulness, the honor of its possessions, and the glory of their native South, depends upon their devotion to the maintenance of the birth-right of the Southern slave; and particularly, that American soil is as free for native negroes as the magnanimous American nation have proclaimed it to be for foreign born whites?

12. How far a confederacy of the slave States would tend to cure the evils of which we justly complain in a political, commercial, and social sense, without resort to those odious restrictions so much at variance with the doctrine of free trade; how far we should be relieved by it from the oppressive revenue tax, when we assume in lieu thereof, the whole burden of a separate Government; and how far it would contribute to the additional permanency of our form of Government, promote the cause of liberty throughout the world; and at the same time relieve us from the insolence and interference of the border abolitionists?

13. If the agricultural products of the South hold an undue proportion to the other products of the arts of civilization so as to be prejudicial to the general welfare, how may a portion of the planting stock be commuted so as to be employed in the arts of commerce and manufacture? Will joint stock companies, formed of small subscribers, for the establishment of manufactories, the

building of ships, the current exchange, and the thousand-and-one wants of trade be the accumulation of such an interested capital invested with a sufficient scope to insure success?

14. Finally, what is the pressing cause of the sudden combination of all the elements of anti-slavery, which we now witness? Is it the work of the people or of political demagogues? And how far it will add to the prosperity of the commercial and manufacturing free States of the North to seek their supplies of raw material, the product of the Southern slave States, in foreign ports?

In conclusion, I believe if the South will set herself right, the nation will concur; but so long as she bows her knee to the false gods of anti-slavery manufacture, so long she will be tormented with their evil designs. The Federal flesh pots, disguised by the name of Union, have corrupted the political morals of the South, and their attorneys have sold their birth-right for a mess of potage. Can the fatal deed be cancelled?

TAMPA, Florida.

OCEAN STEAMERS FROM NEW ORLEANS TO FRANCE.

William C. Barney memorialized the last Congress as follows upon this subject:

I deem this route the most important of all others, except that from New York to England, and in some respects it recommends itself to our legislators more strongly even than that route.

Look at the map of America and Europe, and see how, by the centralization of our steamers at Havana, the entire correspondence of our Southern and Southwestern States, California, Oregon, and South America, is carried directly to Europe.

I urge New Orleans as a point of departure for many obvious reasons.

1st. New Orleans exported domestic produce to the amount of 55 millions in 1855, (see page 530,) and New York 96 millions; and then Massachusetts stands third, and exports 24 millions dollars worth; and New Orleans stands fourth as an importing city. It should be borne in mind that of the exports from New York, there is a large quantity of cotton and sugar shipped from New Orleans and other Southern cities to New York.

The tonnage cleared from New Orleans for 1855, was 604,402, and exceeded by that of New York and Boston—Philadelphia being fourth, and only 142,386 tons, (page 334, Treasury Report, 1855.)

New Orleans may be truly said to be the second commercial city in the Union, and if the proper facilities were extended to her for her foreign trade, she would soon double her present commerce, and enrich the whole valley of the Mississippi, whose products would flow down the river to New Orleans, and from thence to Europe and other foreign markets, without paying toll to the Atlantic States for railroad and canal

transportation. A direct trade to Europe would be of more advantage to the produce of the staples, than man in his greatest foresight can calculate.

The whole valley of the Mississippi, every State of the Union, from Virginia to Texas, and up the Mississippi, pay millions of dollars a year, in commissions to New York merchants, and hundreds of thousands of dollars on European products imported into New York for freight from New York to the South and West.

This proposed line of steamers would open a direct trade between New Orleans and Bordeaux in France. France is a large consumer of American cotton, and New Orleans and the Southwestern States are large consumers of French goods. Why should all this trade be done through New York? The answer is, the mail facilities by steam cause it to be so, and the consumer of the foreign fabric at the South has to pay all the expenses of commission and freight.

The connection at Havana will enable mails and passengers from Europe to take the United States mail steamers to Aspinwall, thence to Panama, California, Oregon, and South America on the Pacific. Mails and passengers from the Southern States on the Gulf of Mexico, would find a direct communication with France, Spain, &c., and mails and passengers from Charleston would meet the steamer at Havana, and proceed thence to France. All the Southwestern States would be brought at least five days closer to Europe than they are now.

Bordeaux is a large exporting town to New Orleans. She is connected with Paris by railroad, also with Madrid by railroad, and the railroad connecting the Atlantic and Mediterranean will be opened in May next, from Bordeaux to Marseilles. More than one-half of the letters between the United States and France come from Louisiana and Texas.

This route would carry all letters from the Southern United States, California, West Coast of South America, to Europe; also, all the letters between Spain and Cuba.

This route would avoid all danger from icebergs and fogs, and it would be generally free from those tempests which visit the northern route. To the invalid it would be a great blessing.

The emigrants of a reputable class, from France to Texas, would come by this route, and Texas is destined to be the vineyard of the world—yes, the American vine and olive tree will send forth their products to all the world.

The States to be benefitted by this line are Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Illinois, Ohio, Tennessee, and in fact all the great valley of the Mississippi. Georgia, Carolina, and Florida will be benefitted.

Here is a line of ocean steamers which confers immediate benefit upon at least half the States of the Union, by giving them a direct means of correspondence with the consumers of their products, as with the producers of their imports. Light goods from the south of France for all these States would certainly take this route, instead of paying commissions and freight to New York. Every person at the South who wears French goods, pays to New York a large commission, which would not be the case if a direct trade were established. The facilities of travel from Bordeaux to all parts of France are much better than from Havre; for to get from Havre to the manufacturing towns in the north of France, one must go to Paris, and then travel northward again by a different railroad, and the southern manufacturing towns can be reached in a few hours by rail, via Marseilles, or via Paris from Bordeaux.

I have suggested this line as one eminently worthy of the patronage of Government, and I respectfully ask the favorable consideration of my memorial.

The distance is 4,820 miles, and I ask the compensation at the same rate per mile, as is paid to the Cunard line by the British Government, (viz: \$16,680 for a round trip, 3,100 miles each way) say \$25,000 a round trip. I propose a monthly service, for the present, to be increased at the will of the Government to twice a month, upon twelve months' notice of such desire.

I believe that the revenue to the United States from postages by this route would bear a larger ratio to the expenses than that by any other ocean mail route.

THE SUGAR CROP AND SUGAR DUTIES.

No. 1.

From the able remarks made by the Honorable Miles Taylor, of Louisiana, upon this subject, in the Congress of the United States, we intend some extracts in this and the following numbers of the Review. Mr. Taylor seems to have well considered the subject, and presents a mass of valuable statistics in connection with it.

Mr. Chairman, before one ventures to make propositions on such a subject, it would not be inappropriate for him to attempt to ascertain the causes of the particular evil which he deplores; it would not be inappropriate for him to attempt to ascertain whether what he proposes would produce the result he contemplates. The production of sugar is confined to very few countries. It is made either in the tropics or in countries near the tropics. In consequence of the small extent of territory devoted to its production, and the small quantity neces-

sary for the supply of the wants of the human family, it is an article more subjected than any other to fluctuations in price. That tendency to an equality in production for a series of years which exists with respect to those articles that are produced over the whole extent of the earth's surface, and which grows out of the fact that the effect of bad seasons in some quarters is generally neutralized by good seasons in other quarters, does not exist with respect to the production of sugar. The high price of sugar to-day is the result of the same causes which have produced it before.

It is not because the crops of sugar have been greatly diminished for the two past years in the United States that the extraordinary rise in the price of sugar has taken place under the operation of the existing duty upon foreign sugars. The diminution of the crops in this country has certainly contributed to that result; but the diminished production in other countries has had much more to do with it. Do not gentlemen know that the crops in Cuba and Porto Rico, from which we derive the most of our foreign supplies of sugar, have been also greatly diminished for the two last years? Why, sir, the crops elsewhere are as liable to accident as in Louisiana, Florida, or Texas. The crops in Cuba and the sugar-producing countries of the tropics are affected by too much dryness or too much moisture, by long-continued droughts or excessive rains, as much as they are in the United States. It is true that in Louisiana the crop is exposed to injury from a cause that never operates in those countries. I allude, of course, to injury from the extremes of cold to which we are subjected at occasional and very distant intervals. But, sir, the crops in the tropics are subjected to injuries as great and as frequent from the hurricanes which sometimes rage there with a fury unknown to our cooler climate. And I make another remark which will seem strange, beyond all doubt, to gentlemen with the peculiar notions on the subject of the culture of sugar in the United States of the gentleman from Indiana, (Mr. Colfax,) and the gentleman from Ohio, (Mr. Bliss,) and it is this: Notwithstanding that the sugar cane is an exotic in our climate, yet its culture in the United States is, in point of fact, exposed to no greater or more frequent accidents than in the West Indies, and that it is my belief, from my knowledge of its culture in Louisiana, and from what I have learned from reading as to the causes which often affect its growth in the West India Islands, that it suffers from fewer accidents with us than it does there. And in this opinion I am sure all who have read Bryan Edward's History of the West Indies, and who are familiar with that plant in Louisiana, will concur.

But, Mr. Chairman, I intended, when I asserted that the

high price of sugar here was not the result alone of the operation of the existing duty upon it or the diminution of the crops for the last two years in Louisiana, to establish it by known facts, and to show that there have been fluctuations in price at other periods of time not very distant which were quite as extraordinary and growing out of the operation of the same causes; and I will now proceed to do so.

The first duty imposed on sugar by our Government under the tariff of 1789 was one cent a pound on brown sugar and three upon loaf. These duties were augmented in 1790, 1795, 1797, and in 1800, when the duty on brown sugar was raised to two and-a-half cents a pound, and that of loaf sugar to five cents a pound. These duties, it should be remembered, were imposed on sugar at a time when there was not only no sugar made in the United States, but at a time too when there were no lands within its limits fitted for its production. These duties were revenue duties, and they were continued up to the period of the adoption of the "compromise" act of 1832. After that act had been in operation so long that the duties on sugar had been considerably diminished, and the planters were apprehensive of suffering a fall in prices because of it, there was, in place of it, a most unexpected and remarkable rise in the price of sugar, much more indeed than the one which now disturbs honorable members so much, and this grew out of a diminution in the quantity of sugar produced in different sugar-growing countries. In the year 1833, as is stated by McCulloch in his Commercial Dictionary, in the article upon sugar, the total production of exportable sugar amounted to 595,000 tons, which was furnished by the different countries cultivating it as follows:

The British West Indies, including Demarara and Berbice.....	190,000 tons.
Mauritius.....	30,000 "
Bengal, Isle of Bourbon, Java, Siam, Philippine Islands, &c.....	60,000 "
Cuba and Porto Rico.....	110,000 "
Brazil.....	75,000 "
The French, Dutch, and Danish West Indies...	95,000 "
Louisiana.....	35,000 "
	<hr/>
	595,000 tons

The prices of sugar had been quite steady for several years, and there had been no particular fluctuations to excite remark, when in 1834-'35 the crop of Cuba fell off three-fifths, from 200,000 tons to 80,000, and prices rose. During the period for the selling of that crop the price rose from three and three

and a half cents a pound in the previous year to four and five-eighths cents in Havana; while there was a fall in prices in New Orleans from six to seven cents a pound, in 1833-'34 to five and three-fourths and six cents in 1834-'35, in consequence of an increase of the crop of 1834-'35 over that of 1833-'34, from 75,000 hogsheads to 100,000. The next year the crop of Cuba was still greatly below the average, and prices rose still higher, and reached six and three-fourths and seven cents. But in that year, 1835, the crop of Louisiana fell down to 30,000 hogsheads, and prices rose in New Orleans, in the winter of 1835-'36, to the unprecedented price of from ten to twelve and a half cents a pound. Prices continued at the highest point in New Orleans until late in the spring of 1836, when the crop of Cuba began to come in, when prices fell, and continued to fall, until the crop of Louisiana for 1836 was gathered and came into market in 1836-'37, when prices on plantations fell to six cents. Crops in Cuba and Louisiana were abundant for a number of years after this, and prices fell and fluctuated from three and a half to five cents a pound for the brown sugars. The reaction to which I alluded as taking place after the adoption of the "compromise" act had reached its height in 1842, and had produced its natural effect in causing the adoption of the tariff act of 1842. But there was a great increase in the crops of Louisiana and of Cuba in that year, and prices continued in New Orleans at their lowest limit—that is, at from three and a fourth to four and a half cents—notwithstanding the increase in the duty. The crops of Cuba and Louisiana for 1843-'44 both fell off considerably; and in the spring of 1845 prices rose in Louisiana from three and three-eighths and four cents to five and five and seven-eighths cents.

In 1846 the tariff act now in force was passed and went into operation. This diminished the duty on brown sugar from two and a half cents a pound to thirty per cent. *ad valorem*. Then, notwithstanding that the crops in Louisiana augmented from 140,000 hogsheads in 1846 to 240,000 in 1847, 220,000, in 1848, and 247,923 in 1849, the price did not at first diminish very materially, because the crops in Cuba were not unusually large for two or three years. When, however, the crops again augmented largely in Cuba, and they continued to increase in Louisiana in the most extraordinary manner, until from 247,923 hogsheads in 1849, the crop reached 449,384 hogsheads in 1853-'54, then prices fell in New Orleans to two and three and a half cents, and the crops for three or four years sold for but little more than would pay the expenses of the different plantations. This depressed state of prices continued until 1855, when the crops again fell off in Cuba. The prices

of sugar then began to rise, and continued to rise until the present season, when they attained their maximum in consequence of a failure in the crop of Louisiana, similar to that in Louisiana in 1835, and to several memorable failures in the crops of Cuba and of other tropical sugar-growing countries. And now gentlemen who have not taken the pains to inform themselves cry out against the sugar interest of Louisiana, because of this rise of price, which has not attained the height it did in 1835-'36; and that, too, when it is known that the crop of Cuba, which is now in the course of being gathered, is going to be so abundant that prices will necessarily go down materially as soon as it begins to come into market this spring, and when it is as nearly certain as any thing in the future can be that the crop now planted in Louisiana will be the largest ever made in that State.

I know, Mr. Chairman, that this declaration of mine as to the crop which will be likely to be grown in Louisiana the present year will excite surprise in the minds of those who infer from the appropriation made last year for the procuring of sugar-cane for renewing the seed in Louisiana that the plant has deteriorated there; but, sir, it is nevertheless true. The cane in Louisiana has not deteriorated, in my opinion, and I have some little experience on that subject. The cane crop for the present year is planted with Louisiana cane; and my information from that State now is that the plant cane was never better than this year, and that the crop now planted greatly exceeds any ever before planted there. And, Mr. Chairman, allow me to observe that this appropriation, in consequence of which some of the declared enemies of the sugar culture have taken advantage to decry that culture as a forced one in the United States, and altogether precarious in its result, was, I will not say a Buncombe affair, but it was one which was occasioned by newspaper representation coming from the inexperienced, grew out of a desire to conciliate public sentiment, and was, in my view, of doubtful expediency, and was more than doubtful in principle. I say it was of doubtful expediency, because the cane which has been cultivated for many years in Louisiana, in my opinion, is better fitted to the production of certain and large crops of sugar than any which will be likely to be introduced, and for this very obvious reason: With one single exception Louisiana is better adapted to the production of sugar than any other country under the sun; and that exception grows out of the occasionally cold autumns and winters to which it is exposed. The cane now in cultivation, where any care is taken in the selection of the cane intended for seed, yields, in the most favorable seasons, as great a quantity of sugar to the acre as it ever did, and as

great an average quantity as is given by any other cane now in cultivation in any other country; and in addition to this it is a hardier plant, and is much less liable to injury from cold than any which can be brought from the tropical regions. This cane was originally introduced into Louisiana because it was thought, from its peculiar character, less likely to be affected by the early frosts of our autumnal seasons. This expectation was more than realized after it went into general cultivation. But, sir, all plants transferred from one climate to another, if they flourish in the new climate at all, undergo certain changes in their period of growth which adapt them more and more to their new abode. This has taken place in a remarkable degree with the riband cane of Louisiana. It now goes through the various stages of its growth in a shorter period each year than it did formerly; and it is a fact, which is attested by the experience of all the older planters of Louisiana, that in consequence of this the cane attains its full growth, and ripens so much earlier in the autumn that the season of converting its juice into sugar has been lengthened upon an average of from fifteen to twenty days. Formerly sugar-making was usually begun about the 1st of November; now the ordinary time of beginning it is from the 10th to the 15th of October, and instances are not at all unfrequent where the work is begun by the 1st of October.

COMMERCIAL STATISTICS FOR 1856.

The summing up of our commercial transactions for the past year is highly creditable to American wealth and enterprise. As a nation we are accustomed to boast of the unprecedented success that has attended both our government and financial experiments, and the figures, while they do not excuse, certainly cannot condemn such wholesale exultation. In commerce we acknowledge but one superior; no other nation builds half as many vessels as this; our foreign trade has trebled since 1815 and doubled since 1842; while the vessels that annually flock to our shores from foreign countries measure their tonnage in millions, and the value of commodities exchanged in internal trade is estimated in billions. All this is true, and yet does not overstate the truth. The United States have elements of commercial increase unknown in any former period or by any other nation. A new country, a virgin soil; our Northern border washed by 2,000 miles of inland seas, our great interior traversed by the Mississippi and its thousands of miles of tributary streams; with 5,000 miles of canals and 30,000 miles of railroads; with a large annual

immigration; with schools and a teeming press to spread intelligence and quicken enterprise; with unbounded liberty of action to stimulate exertion; with new regions rapidly opened up to successful and easy settlement, what is there to set a limit to the extension of a commerce as far beyond the present as the present is beyond past conception?

In the course of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1856, 21,682 vessels have entered the ports of the United States, measuring 6,872,253 tons, an increase of 926,914 in tonnage over the previous year. The total tonnage of the country, June 30th, was 4,871,653 of which 673,018 was in steam vessels. The vessels built during the year were 221 steam vessels, 306 ships and barks, 697 brigs and schooners, 479 sloops, making in all 1,703 vessels, measuring 469,396 tons. The average amount of tonnage owned in the United States was, in 1830, 1,191,776; in 1840, 2,180,784; in 1850, 3,535,454; and in 1856, 4,871,653. The trade with England, as shown by custom house reports, is four-fifths in American vessels, while to the British North American possessions is only one-fourth. We absorb four-fifths of the carrying trade of France, while to the countries of Northern Europe we have only half. The trade with South America goes almost entirely in American bottoms; the Cuban trade is ninety-five per cent. American, the Portuguese only one-third, and the Hamburg less than one-fifth.

The domestic exports of the year were \$310,586,330, an increase of \$63,877,777. New York exported \$109,848,509; Louisiana \$80,596,652; Massachusetts \$26,355,613; Alabama \$23,726,215; South Carolina \$17,358,298; Maryland \$10,856,637. The export of breadstuffs and provisions amounted to \$77,187,301; of cotton to 2,991,175 bales of 451 pounds each, valued at \$128,382,351; of rice to 81,038 barrels and 58,668 tierces, valued at \$2,390,233; of tobacco to 17,772 bales, 9,384 cases, and 116,962 hogsheads, valued at \$12,221,843; of products of the forest, \$10,694,184; of manufactures \$21,581,040; of coin \$15,453,333; and of bullion \$28,689,946. Of these exports \$195,791,886 went to the British dominions; \$42,594,963 to France; \$15,900,572 to Spain, including Cuba; \$13,158,130 to Bremen and Hamburg; \$9,605,255 to Holland and Belgium.

The imports of the year were \$214,639,942, an increase of \$53,171,422 over 1855. Of this amount more than two-thirds came to New York alone; and the increase of the imports at that port is nearly equal to the whole increase of the country. The imports at Massachusetts ports were 43,814,884, at Louisiana 16,682,392, at Pennsylvania 16,590,045, and at Maryland 9,119,907. The increase of the exports of 1856 over 1855 is about 19 per cent., and the increase of the imports for the

same period is 20 per cent. The imports of wool and woollen goods were 33,626,857, an increase of over seven millions; of foreign cottons and cotton manufacture, \$30,180,353, an increase of nearly nine millions over 1855, but a decrease of more than four millions from 1854; of silk and silk manufacture \$34,053,011, an increase of seven millions over 1855 and a decrease of three millions from 1854; of flax and linen goods, \$11,896,868. We purchase indirectly of German States \$16,491,427, the most of it in woollen goods; and of Switzerland \$8,368,074, mostly in silk piece goods and watches. The cash duties received at New York during 1856 were \$45,519,270, an increase of \$11,121,863 over 1854.

The total imports of cotton at Liverpool last year were 2,809,067 bales, an increase of 90,574 in American and 76,109 in other kinds. Of this importation 2,257,572 were used for English manufacture, and 236,900 went to the European continent, leaving a balance of 281,430 bales on hand at the close of the year.

It is estimated that on the 1st of April there will be 41,990 bales of India bagging in the country, which is sufficient to cover 2,519,400 bales of cotton; and by the end of the present year it is estimated that the import and home production of bagging will be sufficient to cover 6,003,400 bales of cotton.

The commerce of all the New York canals leading to the Hudson river for the last year, amounted to 2,774,412 tons, an increase of 83,669 tons over 1855; 2,123,069 tons came East, and 650,943 went West. The freight coming East is divided in tons among the following aggregates:—The forest, 858,771; agriculture, 1,023,417—of which there were 1,120,509 barrels of flour, 11,786,332 bushels of wheat, 9,587,714 bushels of corn, 6,060,812 of oats, 6,152,000 pounds of cheese, 6,866,000 pounds of bacon, and 3,462,000 pounds of butter; manufactures, 50,454; merchandize, 14,073; other articles 176,754. The freight transported both ways is estimated as worth \$208,418,441.

COTTON SPINNING ON THE PLANTATION.

I am happy to perceive such a spontaneous interest in my invention as your editorial evinces, and that of many others who have kindly noticed it, and your concluding paragraph is as profoundly correct, as it is enlightened—that “if it succeeds, it will do more for the South than all the political theories and commercial speculations of the day, and will at once strengthen our institutions, and greatly enhance the prosperity of our already favored section.”

Let us examine its chances of success. You observe how confident I speak of the performance of my invention. It may be a work of some difficulty to convince others of its practicability, but it is not impossible, and let me illustrate to you, that through you others may comprehend it, and hence let me beg your patient observation of my remarks.

You know the gin gins cotton at the plantation, and the fleecy lint is thrown into the lint-room. You know at the cotton factories cotton is received in the bales, and is there spun into yarns, as well as woven.

If you will step down to one of your cotton factories, you will see that the bale of cotton is there first run through a willow or picker to open and disentangle it, and from the lint-room into which the picker casts it, the cotton is brought out and weighed to the apron of a lap machine, (a spreader and beater as it is called.) The cotton passes through this machine and comes out at the other end in a sheet, and is rolled by the machine around a cylinder, and in this state the cotton is called a lap. This lap is fitted to a place in front of a carder, and when a lap for each card in the factory is thus placed, the carders placed in rows are put in operation.

From each carder the sliver is taken by a railway to a drawing-head placed at the end of the row, and all the slivers are here doubled and passed through this drawing-head into a can before it. And at this drawing-head the process of spinning truly begins—(back of this being technically called the “Preparation”)—as here the elongation of the fibres has commenced. The cans, which accumulate at these drawing-heads, are taken and placed before other drawing-heads, and the slivers from a certain number of cans are passed through a head, there they are doubled again and fall into another can in front. From these cans the now straightened and attenuated slivers pass to the speeder and become moving, from thence to the spinning frames, where the yarn is finished, from thence to the reels, and then it is baled. You observe a shaft passes through the factory, which is moved by water or steam power in cotton factories, and to this shaft each of these machines are geared by bands, so when it is desired, either or all of the machines are put into operation by this shaft.

Here you have presented the disconnected operations of the gin at the plantation, and the spinning machinery at the factory.

Suppose you take an ordinary gin to your market-house, there bring from one of your cotton factories a lap machine, (or speeder and beater,) half dozen carding machines with *their* railway and drawing-heads, a drawing-frame and cans, a speeder frame, and *three spinning frames*, and arranging

them factory fashion, the gin in front, gear them all to a shaft, (to run some ten or twelve feet from the ground through the market-house,) arrange horse power or steam-engine, if you please, to work the shaft.

The first question which arises is, is there any more difficulty to gear that gin to this shaft, to cause it to act here, where and while other machinery is desired to operate, any more than there is to cause the others to operate? Certainly not.

Suppose you put seed cotton into the gin and set it in motion; from the flue in the back of the gin, the fleecy fibres will be thrown to the other end of the market-house.

Here is where I come in, and instead of letting this fleecy cotton be thrown to the other end of your market-house, I take the apron from your lap machine, bring this machine snug up to the flue of the gin, and by a peculiar arrangement throw the cotton into this lap machine; and the lap machine being geared to the same shaft, as soon as the cotton enters this lap machine, I set it in motion, and the cotton passes through it, and as the lap accumulates I place them to the carders, and then all goes on as the cotton factory by my process.

The working of my combination and arrangement of my machinery and its results, I assure you, are as positive as the laws of mechanics, or the laws of positive science. It is not a theory or speculation, and I am not dreaming; and the planter who does not or will not understand it, is in a dream, as it were, fancying it too good to be true, will but awaken to the reality. For I have inquiries from the largest cotton planters in all the cotton States already, respecting it, many offers to buy States and counties, and I feel like a fisherman with a well-trying hook and line, and a smart-sized fish on it. He can afford to let it play awhile, as he knows his fish is safe.

It is my desire to get the machinery arranged to suit the smaller planters, agreeably to the hope you express, and, one way or another, we will do it, I think. It was the smaller planters you had in your mind when you wrote the paragraph that no planter would "invest his money in machinery so expensive, without satisfying himself of its practicability." Certainly they will not; and I think I know too much of my own and human nature to suppose they would.

No mechanic will doubt but the cotton can be conducted from the gin to the lap; and if that is conceded, the practicability of my invention is, also.

Then, if machinery costing \$5,000, or less, arranged in connection with the gin, and run by six mules, will gin and spin 100 bales of 500 pounds of cotton, between 1st September and 1st March, into yarns, and this machinery to be attended

by five operatives from eight to twelve years old, one twelve to fourteen, and three old women or men, (if crippled, will answer,) and this machinery and these operatives (for we cannot call them hands) in this time, six months, will produce as much as the twenty-five or thirty hands, the plantation, twelve to fifteen mules, overseer and planter, altogether, did in twelve months, it seems to me this shows economy and profit. This is equivalent to another plantation, negroes, stock and overseer, without the trouble of it. Yarns, it must be borne in mind, average in value over twice the cost of cotton.

Now, if my invention consisted in a process by which each planter doubled his crop of cotton, and I should raise it suddenly from 3,000,000 to 6,000,000 bales, with the lights before me, I should not regard that as a valuable one, as it would be too great a yield for the day. But my invention will repress the production of the raw material, rather than otherwise, I think, as planters will be better enabled to divert some of their force to the cultivation and raising of a greater quantity of articles of living and comfort. I hardly think that spinning up the cotton will abstract *bona fide* hands from the cotton crop.

As I have answered some of my friends, whose crops are much over the figures I have illustrated (of 100 bale planters) and you have some large planters in your section, I will state that a planter making 300 bales of cotton, by spinning the year round, can by a steam engine, and the machinery he wants, spin 750 pounds a day, for about \$8,000, and require only about the same hands enumerated for the 100 bale man. Of course, 300 bale men, 500, 600 to 1000 bale men will not delay long, on that exhibit, to put their spindles in operation.

The clause in the remarks of the able editors of the Georgia Journal, saying I would have a factory in operation in six weeks, arose from my informing them the machinery for a 100 bale planter could be manufactured in about six weeks. A factory cannot be put in operation, without seed cotton, and the past short crop has been ginned up.

I am arranging to establish agencies, and so organize as to disseminate my invention as rapidly as possible, and I do not ask it for myself, but for the planter, and for the thousands of interests, commercially and politically, which will result from it, that all parties interested in Southern progress will do, say, and write about it whatever they think may aid, and encourage, and develop it; and I am, sir, most truly,

Your obedient friend,

GEO. G. HENRY.

COLORED PERSONS NOT CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Application having been made to the State Department for passports to a company of colored minstrels, visiting Europe professionally, the following reply has been received by Mr. Rice, Clerk of the Superior Court in New York city, who made the application:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, }
WASHINGTON, Nov. 4, 1856. }

H. H. RICE, Esq., New York City:

SIR: Your letters of the 29th ultimo and 3d inst., requesting passports for eleven colored persons, have been received, and I am directed by the Secretary to inform you that the papers transmitted by you do not warrant the department in complying your request.

A passport is a certificate that the person to whom it is granted is a citizen of the United States, and it can only be issued upon proof of this fact. In the papers which accompany your communication, there is not satisfactory evidence that the persons for whom you request passports are of this description. They are represented in your letter as "colored," and described in the affidavits as "black," from which statements it may be fairly inferred that they are negroes. If this is so, there can be no doubt that they are not citizens of the United States. The question whether free negroes are such citizens is not now presented for the first time, but has repeatedly arisen in the administration of both the national and state governments.

In 1821 a controversy arose as to whether free persons of color were citizens of the United States, within the intent and meaning of the acts of Congress regulating foreign and coasting trade, so as to be disqualified to command vessels; and Mr. Wirt, Attorney General, decided that they were not, and moreover held that the words, "citizens of the United States," were used in the acts of Congress in the same sense as in the Constitution. This view is also fully sustained in a recent opinion of the present Attorney General.

The judicial decisions of the country are to the same effect. In Kent's Commentaries, vol. 2, p. 277, it is stated that in 1833 Chief Justice Dagget, of Connecticut, held that free blacks are not "citizens," within the meaning of the term as used in the Constitution of the United States, and the Supreme Court of Tennessee, in the case of the State against Claiborne, held the same doctrine.

Such being the construction of the Constitution in regard to free persons of color, it is conceived that they cannot be re-

garded, when beyond the jurisdiction of this government, as entitled to the full rights of citizens; but the Secretary directs me to say, that though the Department could not certify that such persons are citizens of the United States, yet if satisfied of the truth of the facts, it would give a certificate that they were born in the United States, and free; and that the government thereof would regard it to be its duty to protect them if wronged by a foreign government, while within its jurisdiction, for a legal and proper purpose.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. A. THOMAS, *Assistant Secretary.*

BOOK NOTICES.

Home and the World: by the author of *Souvenirs of a Residence in Europe*. New York; D. Appleton & Co. In this volume the author sketches his historical personages from life, and even his negro characters are from realities. His other portraiture, he begs to say, are merely those of fancy. We might quote a passage in which Uncle Tom's wife discourses of freedom, and discourages that worthy from accepting it in exchange for slavery.

Memoirs of Washington: by Mrs. C. M. Kirkland, with illustrations. New York; D. Appleton & Co. 1857. The volume has for its purpose to set forth the private and familiar, not the grand side of Washington's life and character. Some of the details were taken down from the conversation of the contemporaries of Washington. The work is written in pleasant style, and abounds in anecdotes and traditions.

Sedgemoor, or Home Lessons: by Mrs. Manners. New York; D. Appleton & Co. 1857. This little work originated in the remembrance of the pleasure and improvement derived from the Biographical Alphabet, as it was often played in the author's "dear home circle" at the South.

Arctic Explorations.—The second Grinnell expedition in search of Sir John Franklin, 1853-'54-'55; by Elisha Kent Kane, M. D., United States Navy. Illustrated with upwards of three hundred engravings from sketches by the author. Philadelphia; Childs & Peterson. Nearly \$200,000 was subscribed for copies of this valuable work before its publication; it is in two large octavos, most beautifully printed and

illustrated. Nothing can be more deeply interesting and exciting than the scenes it describes in those polar regions, where man struggles as a pigmy against the all powerful and relentless nature. Alas, the privations and sufferings endured have proved too much for the gallant yet fated chief who conducted the expedition; what a monument to his memory have we in this work! Will any American be without a copy!

Xenophon's Anabasis, with explanatory notes, for the use of schools and colleges; by James R. Boise, Professor of Greek in the University of Michigan, with Kiepert's map, showing the entire route of the "ten thousand," and an introduction. New York; D. Appleton & Co. 1857. In this edition the editor has made use of all the aid afforded by German scholars later than could have been used in any previous American edition of Xenophon.

The Golden Legacy: a story of life's phases, by a lady. New York; D. Appleton & Co. 1857. Apparently a novel of interest, and founded upon American life and manners.

Poems, by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow; complete in two volumes. Boston; Ticknor & Fields. 1857. This is a superb little edition for the pocket, in chaste binding, and is illustrated with a portrait of Longfellow. It contains "Voices of the Night," Hiawatha, etc., etc. The only deformity in the edition is Mr. Longfellow's slavery poems, which are founded upon the false and ignorant sentimentalism of the New England school, and ought to have no place in a national work; for

instance, speaking of the Southern rice field slave—

"He did not feel the driver's whip
Nor the burning heat of day,
For death had illumined the land of sleep,
And his lifeless body lay,
A worn out fetter," etc., etc.

Adventures in the Wilds of the United States and British American Provinces: by Charles Lanman, author of *Private Life of Daniel Webster*, etc., handsomely illustrated, with an appendix by Lieutenant Hardy, in two volumes. Philadelphia; D. W. Moore, 1856. The materials of the work have been gathered during ten years while performing tours into almost every part of the U. States and the British Provinces. It comprehends ample descriptions of the valleys of the Mississippi and St. Lawrence, the basin of the great lakes, the regions of the Gulf of Mexico, the Atlantic coasts, etc. It is almost an encyclopedia of American scenery and personal adventures, and of incidents calculated to exhibit the manners and customs of the people, and interest the lovers of natural history and the various arts of sporting. The second volume is mostly taken up with a Winter at the South and Southwest. A chapter is embraced upon plantation customs, which, with the author's consent, we shall introduce into the next number of the Review, together with some extracts from his remarks upon other subjects. The volumes are handsomely published.

Memoirs, Journal, and Correspondence of Thomas Moore, edited by Lord John Russell, 2 vols., royal octavo. In the language of a contemporary, which we heartily adopt:

"Tom Moore has just such a soul as would pour its fullness in a diary of daily life, or a friendly correspondence; and those who have loved him for his human nature will not be disappointed in his memoirs."

"We have here the minutiae, facietiae, et cetera, of one of the most versatile, voluptuous and melodious bards who ever sang. His intimacies with all the geniuses of the day, whether they were poets, artists, or statesmen, and the naïveté with which he honestly rattles away, about everything in his own literary life, or his social either, in which latter we can but be amused at his bon vivant propensities, have in his style of narrating them much more of a charm for us than we generally find in the pri-

vate life of men of genius, even where the curtain is as decorously drawn aside as we find it here."

Words for the Hour, by the author of "*Passion Flowers*." Boston; Ticknor & Fields. 1857. The author, it seems, is one Mrs. Howe. The poems are trashy enough, and abound in ministrings, and to the cravings of abolitiondom. On page 30, we have a poem, "*The Senator's Return*," (i. e. Sumner.) On page 27, "*An Hour in the Senate*," in which our amiable and distinguished friend, Judge Butler, is handled without gloves:

"Falls there no lightning from yon distant heaven
To crush this man's potential impudence;
Shall not its outraged patience, thunder—
Hence!
Forebake the shrine, &c.
Shall he stand here—with this defiant face,
And clench his fist, and shake the matted hair
As if his brutal prowess centered there," &c.

A Physician's Vacation: or a Summer in Europe; by Walter Channing. Boston; Ticknor & Fields. 1857. Much of this volume relates to Russia; and, on that account, is more than usually interesting. The sketches embrace vivid pictures of European life and manners, and the work is a most entertaining one.

National Series of School Books.—*First Lessons in Grammar*; by J. W. Clark, A. M. Published by A. S. Barnes & Co.

The Young Yagers; or, a narrative of Hunting Adventures in Southern Africa; by Capt. Mayne Reid, illustrated. Boston; Ticknor & Fields. This little work has great spirit and life, and will be a treat to the boys everywhere who love to hear of stirring adventures, and share in the joys and excitements of the field.

The Poetical Works of Thos. Moore, collected by himself, in six volumes, with a Memoir. Boston; Little, Brown & Co. 1857. These constitute a part of the Cabinet Series of English poets, from Chaucer to Wordsworth; Byron, Vaughan, Shakspeare, Herrick, Crabbe, &c., are soon to appear. This is the best edition extant, and about seventy volumes have already been published. The British Essayists will also be published in the same style, in 38 volumes, by Little & Brown.

Our Grandmother's Tales, and Aunt Kate's Fireside Memories. Boston; Ticknor & Fields. 1857.

Songs of Summer; by Richard Henry Stoddard: Boston; Ticknor & Fields. 1857. Handsomely executed and printed in the quaint old English style. The poems have a high share of merit, and many of them are of great excellence and beauty.

Canibals All, or Slaves without Masters; by George Fitzhugh, of Virginia. Richmond; A. Morris. 1857. Another remarkable work from the pen of a bold and able thinker, and profound economical analyst. It will be examined more fully by us in the next number of the Review.

The American Citizen: His Rights and Duties, according to the spirit of the Constitution of the United States; by John Henry Hopkins, D. D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Vermont. New York; Putney & Russell.

Our friends, the publishers, deserve much credit for this volume, which, without doubt, will do great good at the North, and which more nearly suits the minds of Southern men than anything of the kind published in that quarter for a long time. Bishop Hopkins has sound notions upon the rights of the South, &c., in regard to the institution of slavery and advises the North very correctly; but as to what he says about the Colonization Society, and of appropriating the public domain in aid of that manner of *emancipation*, we assure him it is all theory, and has not the slightest claim to practical consideration anywhere. Let slavery alone. That is all that is asked for it. All tampering with it is idle, unprofitable and injurious. The thing will take care of itself.

Etiquette of Washington; together with the customs adopted in Polite Society throughout the United States. This is a beautiful little volume published by John Murphy & Co., of Baltimore, and should be in the hands of every citizen of the Republic. It has a full description of the public buildings, &c., of Washington.

Pamphlets, &c.—The following received, and will be noted hereafter: "Report of the Blue Ridge Railroad Company;" "Report of Shreveport and Texas Railroad;" "Catalogue of Wofford College, S. C.," "Report on Sanitary Police of Cities, by Dr. Newman, of New York;" "Ninth Report of the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad Com-

pany;" "Report of the University of Michigan;" "Reports of the St. Louis and Cincinnati Mercantile Societies;" "Report of the State Agricultural Society of Virginia;" "Report on Public Education in Louisiana, 1857;" "Dr. Norwood's Address on *Veratrum Viride*;" "A sketch of General Jackson, by Charles Gayarré, of Louisiana;" this will be fully presented.

Several new works are added to our exchange list. We may mention—

New Orleans Medical News and Hospital Gazette, a monthly journal, edited by Drs. Beard, Brickley, etc., of the New Medical School. These are able and scientific gentlemen, and are acquiring large reputations in the profession. Dr. Beard is especially distinguished for his knowledge and practice on the eye. The journal is worthy of the largest support.

The Metropolitan: edited by a committee of literary gentlemen. Baltimore; John Murphy & Co. The work is devoted to the claims of the Catholic Church.

The Mining Magazine: edited by Wm. J. Tenney. New York; Monthly.

The Quarterly Law Journal: A. B. Guignon, editor; Richmond, Virginia. J. W. Randolph.

We also receive, as usual, all of our other exchanges, including Leonard, Scott & Co's reprints of Blackwood, Edinburgh, Westminster, London Quarterly Reviews, &c.

Report on the Exploration and Survey of the River La Plata and Tributaries; by Thomas J. Page, Commanding U. S. Steamer Water Witch, to the Secretary of the Navy. Paraguay promises the richest commerce to any people that shall become engaged in it. The history and resources of the country, strange as it may seem, are better known to Europeans than to our countrymen. This should be otherwise, and we trust to see the Government continuing these valuable explorations. The Water Witch ascended the Paraguay two thousand miles from the Atlantic, and reached the frontiers of the richest provinces of Brazil, having no other outlet but the port of Rio, reached at present by laborious, dangerous, and costly land travel.

Report on the Commercial Relations of the United States with all Foreign Nations; prepared under the direction of the Secretary of State, in accordance

with a resolution of the House of Representatives.

This is a quarto volume superintended by Edmund Flagg, of the State Department. Another similar volume on Comparative Tariffs, and a third, to embrace Consular Returns, are intended. The first part, now before us, embraces a succinct account of the history, character, and extent of the Commercial Relations of the United States with about fifty Foreign Nations with whom we have intercourse. It contains also Statements of the Exports and Imports of the United States for about thirty-five years, including the leading Commercial Nations and their dependencies.

This work is the fruit of great pains, labor, and expense, and required several years in its preparation. The superintendent seems to have done his duty faithfully, and has, undoubtedly, presented a volume which will be invaluable to the mercantile community and to the statesman. It is issued in handsome style, and as soon as we have the opportunity will be fully examined and commented upon. Its material will aid us in preparing some valuable articles for our pages.

Poems of James Barron Hope: while the South has been laboring under the almost just reproach repeated against her last fall by Mr. Speaker Banks, that she could claim no arts, no science, no literature of her own, the gentleman whose name stands above has been doing much to prove that it was not entirely merited. He has lately published a volume of poetry, from the press of Lippincott & Co., entitled "Leoni de Monata, and other Poems," which places him high among the poets of the age. For originality of thought, startling brightness of sentiment, and natural easiness of versification, his poems are eminent. One of the pieces, "The Charge of Balaklava," is equal quite, if not superior, to any that has been written by other poets upon it. A verse or two will show the merit of the piece:

In the van rides Captain Nolan,
Wide his flying tresses wave,
And his heavy broad-sword flashes,
As upon the foe he dashes—
God! his face turns white as ashes—
He has ridden to his grave!

In a moment, in a twinkling,
He was gathered to his rest,
With his gallant heart elated,
Down went Nolan—decorated
With a death-wound on his breast.

Mr. Hope will publish, shortly, other volumes; the present is but the *avant courier* of a larger collection.

James Barron Hope is the grandson of the late Commodore Barron, who was, at the time of his death, the Senior Post-Captain of the United States Navy. He is a native of Hampton, of the Old Dominion—the nursery of heroes by land and wave, of Presidents, of statesmen and orators. Why should she not be of poets?

Merchants and Bankers' Register, 1857. We have received from Mr. Homans, editor of the Bankers' Magazine, 162 Pearl street, New York, a copy of his new volume, with this title:

I.—A List of the Banks, arranged alphabetically, in every State and city in the Union, corrected up to December, 1856.—President, Cashier, and capital of each. II.—A List of Private Bankers in Three Hundred and Thirty cities and towns in the United States and Canada, December, 1856. III.—A List of Banks and Private Bankers in London, November, 1856. IV.—A List of Banks and Private Bankers in Europe, Asia, South America, and West Indies. V.—An Alphabetical List of Cashiers in the United States. VI.—A List of Members of the New York Board of Stock Brokers. VII.—The Banks of New York City—Capital, Dividend Months, Discount Days—Annual Dividend and Notary of each. VIII.—Principles of Exchange, by John Ramsay McCulloch. IX.—Finances of European States—Revenue, Expenditure, and Debt of each. X.—Commercial Statistics of the United States. XI.—Cotton and Cotton Manufactures throughout the world for each year since 1800. XII.—Decimal Weights and Measures. XIII.—On the Rights and Duties of Consols. One vol. 8vo. \$1; price per mail \$1 12, postage pre-paid. The information in this volume upon the subject of Cotton is more full than in any work we have. Mr. Homans gives notice that copies will be mailed to order.

WHAT IS SAID OF THE REVIEW.

CONDENSED CORRESPONDENCE FOR FEBRUARY.

A Planter of Mason County, Virginia, writes: I am anxious to have it, as I consider it by far the ablest work of the character published in the country, and the one on which the hopes of the South in the future greatly depend. In fact, sir, I think you are entitled to the lasting gratitude of every true Southern man, for the exertions you have made and are still making in behalf of this section of the confederacy.

One at Tigerville, Louisiana: You may consider that I am one of those who regard with great favor your untiring zeal in the cause of Southern improvement. We must become what the North now is, in all the various branches of industry, possessing as we do in so high a degree the basis of all the richest agricultural products.

One at Kirkwood, Mississippi: I have looked into your *Industrial Resources* sufficiently to know that it is worth the cost ten times told, to every Southern slave owner. I shall do what I can to extend its sale for you, and in justice to you, I shall omit no opportunity to extend the circulation of your most valuable "Review;" and here permit me to say, that I believe it has done more in the cause of slavery, more by way of enlightening the public mind North and South, and disabusing it of erroneous and injurious opinions, than all the other journals and periodicals of the country; and as truth, justice, and equal rights are your governing principles, may God speed you on your way, and prosper you in your undertakings.

From the Brazilian Consul, New York: Your Review and Hunt's are two jewels that I receive every month, and I hope your list of subscribers will be enlarged with the new year.

From the Sandwich Islands: I am greatly obliged to you, for forwarding the work so promptly, before the receipt of a remittance. In more than one instance, it has been of more value to me than the entire cost of the work, and I believe its character needs only to be known, to secure for it a general circulation at the Islands. The American club of Honolulu, the Koloa book club have each I believe ordered a copy. We have long felt the want of a systematic work upon tropical agriculture; we have been flooded with agricultural treatises, adapted to Northern latitudes; and it has been a matter of surprise and regret, that similar scientific works, (by *practical men*.) have been so meagre, "few and far between," in comparison with those of the North.

To your Review may justly be accorded the enviable distinction of initiating a new era in tropical culture and manufacture.

From Lagrange, Texas: Your Review, to be brief, is like the Gospel to man, "life and light to the rights and institutions of the South."

From Marion, Alabama: You may rest assured of my support to the "Review," so long as it maintains the cause of the South so manfully and ably, as it has done hitherto. I am glad to know that the Review will receive your entire attention. You owe it to *yourself* not to divide your time between two important callings. One such is enough for any man.

TO SUBSCRIBERS.

March, April, and May are the months in which our receipts are largest. Our friends then usually remember us. They will remit either to Washington City or to the office at New Orleans. *Let every one make the effort to have his account with the Review squared and kept so.* Help us, too, as far as in your power, to get one new subscriber. Our cause is, indeed, a worthy one; is it not? The office of the Review in New Orleans, is at 54 Camp street, a few doors from the Picayune office. Back numbers and volumes can also be had there. Our terms to clubs are low, also our advertising rates. We have arranged for a series of Agricultural and other papers, to be prepared for our pages by the distinguished Southern agricultural writer, Edmund Ruffin, President of the State Agricultural Society of Virginia.